

New Frontiers in Working Towards Gender Equality and Child Rights?

Evaluation of the Project 'Responsible Partners and Caring Fathers'

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1.0 Introduction

The Centre for Health and Social Justice (CHSJ) commenced working with men and boys on issues of masculinities since 2000 in Uttar Pradesh and subsequently expanded to Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Jharkhand and West Bengal. A unique aspect of CHSJ's work with men and boys is its focus on promoting gender justice, rather than imposing constraints on men and boys rising out of the social construction of gender. At the national level, it is one of the founders of the Forum to Engage Men (FEM). Work with men and boys to redefine dominant constructions of masculinities is indeed important, as working solely with women and girls as survivors of gender discrimination (the focus of the government) is yet to yield result in strategic areas such as women and girls' workloads, reproductive and sexual rights, bodily integrity and economic and political rights.

CHSJ started working in Jharkhand in 2015 to promote new models for engaging men as responsible partners and caring fathers, within a gender equality and child rights perspective. This initiative was launched with the support of the Oak Foundation and local partner organisations of FEM. The principal goal of the project, named "Responsible Partners and Caring Fathers", was to promote and support the development of new models of men as responsible partners and caring fathers, addressing the issues of caring for children and women with a particular focus on daughters and partners through a gender equality and child rights perspective¹.

The project was to be rolled out in 30 villages of three districts of Jharkhand—Ranchi, Gumla and Bokaro—with the first two having a high ratio of tribal populations. An NGO was identified for implementing the project in each of the three districts. After orientation, the NGO recruited or deputed a staff member as a 'facilitator' who in turn formed fathers' groups (FGs) and Kishores' groups (KGs) in each of 10 villages and selected an animator from amongst the more interested fathers. The animator and facilitator together went through an intensive and participatory training comprising seven workshops spread over 25 days covering the features of the project, concepts of patriarchy, gender, masculinities and child rights, care from the perspective of gender equality and child rights, skills in leadership, facilitation and participatory rural appraisal, reproductive rights and social accountability in health and nutrition. Sessions were then held for FGs and KGs on similar topics. The partners of animators, parents of Kishores, service providers and local government representatives were indirect stakeholders. The project included the position of "mentors" (one for each facilitator/NGO), who were outside experts, to guide the facilitators and animators and "observers" from within the village, who were not part of the groups, to record changes that were seen and point out desired changes that were not happening.

With the three-year project coming to an end, an evaluation was commissioned by CHSJ to conduct an endline assessment of:

¹ Terms of Reference for Evaluation

1. outcomes of the intervention in general², and in the spheres of men’s engagement in care and reducing gender-based violence and gender discrimination;
2. perceptions of women (relatives of participants) and others on changes in men and Kishores who took part in the programme;
3. effectiveness of strategy in different contexts (relevance³, implementation and deviation) and areas for strengthening
4. aspects of intervention strategy that could be scaled up, and context specific modifications that may be required.

Detailed TOR is attached as Annex 1.

The evaluation conducted desk reviews, compared data from baseline/endline surveys, reviewed stories of most significant change, held discussions with CHSJ and partners, and carried out focus group discussions (FGDs), individual interviews and gender transformative participatory methods. “Before-After” comparisons and “participant-non participant” comparisons on care, gender discrimination and child rights were made. Direct and indirect stakeholders were met, and information was triangulated (e.g., comparison of what fathers said were changes with what their partners said). The findings were synthesised using concepts/ frameworks of masculinities, concepts of power and empowerment, change matrices, and social relations & institutional frameworks and presented back to all partners⁴ and CHSJ representatives and validated. In total, 228 people were met as part of the mission, details of which are given in Annex 2. A limitation of the methodology is that there was no time for ‘participant observation’ by staying in the village, something that would have provided rich insights on outcomes.

The evaluation report is structured as follows. The second section provides an overview of the context covering the construction of masculinities and the kind of gender discrimination and gender-based violence in the area. It also provides an overview of government legislation and policies that may have a bearing on the project. The third section outlines the methodology and methods adopted in the evaluation and the frameworks that will be used to synthesise the findings. The fourth section presents the findings of the evaluation across the four objectives of the evaluation. The fifth section synthesises findings using concepts on masculinities, power, change matrices and social relations and institutional frameworks. The sixth section contains concluding remarks and recommendations.

2.0 Overview of Context

2.1 Findings from secondary data on gender discrimination and child rights in Jharkhand

Annex 3 provides some of the statistical data on gender issues in rural Jharkhand (where possible disaggregated across the three districts).

²At participant, community, and institutional levels

³Including engagement of the project with women’s groups

⁴In the case of Srijan and Sahyogini to Director and facilitator, in the case of CSS only to facilitator

As per Economic Survey of Jharkhand 2013–2014, 40.8% of people in rural Jharkhand were living below the poverty line when compared to a figure of 25.8% for rural India as a whole, with Scheduled Tribes being the poorest, followed by Scheduled Castes. Gumla and Ranchi Districts have a higher proportion of Scheduled Tribes (Adivasis) than Bokaro District, the third district where the project is operational. While gender disaggregated statistics on poverty in Jharkhand were not available, the Agriculture Census of Jharkhand 2010–2011 (<http://agcensus.dacnet.nic.in/districtsummarytype.aspx>) indicates that ST women in these three districts own 6% (Bokaro) to 14% (Ranchi) of individual land holdings, debunking the popular notion of the empowerment of Adivasi (used in this report instead of ST) women.

The National Family Health Survey 4 (NFHS-4) points out that the proportion of rural households with access to improved drinking water ranges from 46.6% (Gumla) to 70.1% (Bokaro); to improved sanitation from 11.6% (Bokaro) to 17% (Ranchi); and to clean fuel from 4.1% (Bokaro) to 12.1% (Ranchi). Thus, the burden of care work is bound to be high in the project area, and fall largely on women and girls at the time of the project intervention.

Data from the NFHS-4 indicate that there is a gender gap in adult literacy in rural areas of the three districts, with the gap being highest in rural Bokaro. Dropout rate is highest in rural Gumla (11.2%) and least in rural Bokaro (2.1%) at primary levels, and the figures are slightly lower at upper primary levels (7.2% and 0.8% respectively). Data for Gumla suggests that 33.3% of upper primary schools do not have a girls' toilet.

The NFHS-4 indicates that 40.6% of women aged 20–24 years in rural Bokaro reported getting married before 18 years of age, when compared to 25.1% in rural Gumla, with the figure for rural Ranchi falling in between. Births attended by skilled health personnel ranged from 63.7% (rural Bokaro) to 79.2% (rural Ranchi), with Gumla falling in between. The percentage of rural women with Body Mass Index (BMI) below normal ranged from 37.9% in the case of rural Ranchi to 28.5% in rural Gumla. The percentage of men whose BMI was below normal was slightly lower in the case of rural Gumla and Ranchi, and much lower in the case of Bokaro (22.5% for rural men and 37.4% for rural women). Iron tablet consumption for 100 days during last pregnancy was 14.5% in rural Bokaro when compared to 27.3% in rural Ranchi, while rate of anaemia was between 71% (Gumla) to 88% (Bokaro). However, on child immunisation, the trend was different, with 71% of children in the age group 12–23 months fully immunised in rural Bokaro when compared to 58.6% in rural Gumla, with the figure for Ranchi falling in between. Stunting of children under-5 is in the range 46% to 52%, being highest in rural Ranchi and lowest in rural Bokaro.

As is true for entire India, male sterilisation made for an insignificant proportion of total modern contraception in rural parts of all three districts. Thirty-nine percent of rural women aged 15–24 years expressed that they used hygienic methods of protection during menstruation.

Figures for domestic violence were not available district wise. For Jharkhand as a whole, 38.8% of rural women aged 15–49 years covered by NFHS-4 had ever experienced physical or sexual violence from an intimate partner (the figure for only physical stood at 27%), which is higher than the all India figure of 31.4%. The perpetrator in 96% of cases was the husband. Only 2.4% of women interviewed stated that they were violent against their husbands. Thirty-one percent of women and thirty-three percent of men covered under NFHS-4 believed that it is all right for a man to hit a woman for one of the following reasons: if the woman goes out without telling him, if the woman argues with him, if she refuses to have sex with him, if she does not cook properly, if he suspects her of being unfaithful or if she is disrespectful of in-laws. As per the NFHS-4, 42% of rural men in Jharkhand consumed alcohol as against 5.5% of women as of 2015–16, which is higher than the national average. The

NFHS 4 reports a balanced sex ratio at birth in rural Ranchi and Gumla, but the sex ratio at birth is skewed in favour of males at 914 in rural Bokaro district.

A high 86.7% of rural Jharkhand women covered under NFHS 4 expressed that they took part in household decision making, but only 28.3% who worked in the last one year reported having received cash as wages: that is, they were working for free in their husbands' or fathers-in-law's farms. Nearly forty-one percent of women reported having a bank account, 28% a mobile phone, and 50% reported owning a house or land in their own names or in joint names. This contradicts data derived from agricultural census. A practice not reported under NFHS-4 is the one of witch hunting in some of the Adivasi communities, wherein a widow or single women is labelled a witch by relatives to usurp her property and driven out of the village and at times, murdered.

On the whole, the data points to the secondary status of women and girls in rural Jharkhand, including the three districts where the project operates. It also points to the anomaly that gender discrimination appears higher in the less tribal Bokaro District, while day-to-day conditions seem better. At the time same, gender disparities persist in tribal areas, contradictory to the popular perception that tribal populations espouse an egalitarian culture.

2.2 Context of government legislation and programmes that are of relevance

Of relevance to this project on Responsible Partners and Caring Fathers are the following acts of legislation and programmes:

Legislation

- Equal Remuneration Act, 1976
- The Constitution (73rd Amendment) Act, 1992
- Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act, 2005
- The Hindu Succession (Amendment) Act, 2005
- Prohibition of Child Marriage Act, 2006
- Preconception and Prenatal Diagnostic Techniques Act (PCPNDT), 2004
- The Protection of Children from Sexual Offences Act, 2012
- Paternity Benefit Bill, 2017
- Right to Education Act, 2009

Programmes/Schemes

- Maternity benefits programme
- Integrated Child Development Scheme
- Beti Bachao Beti Padhao (save and educate the girl child)
- Sabla programme aiming at empowerment of adolescent girls
- National Rural Livelihood Mission (also known as Ajeevika)
- Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (MGNREGA)

Policies

- The National Policy on Early Childhood Care and Education (ECCE), 2013, followed by Framework
- National Policy for children, 2013
- Draft National Women's Policy, 2016
- National Youth Policy, 2015-2020

The draft National Women's Policy, 2016, refers to the need for interventions to free women's time, and this is one of the areas of this project's focus. The concept of leave for fathers to take care of newborns that is proposed under the Paternity Benefit Bill is something that fits well with the project, but how it is to be operationalised is not clear, especially given that most fathers involved in the programme are in the informal sector. The National Policy for Children 2013 outlines states' and parents' responsibilities in ensuring survival, development, protection and participation of the child, free of gender discrimination. The ECCE Framework mentions that workshops for "parents" are to be organised covering health and development, physical development and emotional development and dealing with behavioural issues. The Framework points out that male ECCE teachers should be encouraged so that learners will benefit from male role models in parenting. Regular communication of Anganwadi workers with parents on children's progress is called for. However, in practice it is only mothers who are called for meetings.

Members of FGs along with women's self help groups (SHGs) under the National Rural Livelihoods Mission (NRLM) and NGOs could play an important role in holding duty bearers to account in implementation of legislation/ policies/ schemes for the well being of women and children and the removal of gender discrimination. They could also come together to bring perpetrators (of violence and discrimination) to account when rights of women, girls and children in general are violated. Further, a variety of committees are mentioned under different schemes and legislation that could be made to function and strengthened in the interest of gender equality and child rights. These include parents' committees attached to Integrated Child Development Services (ICDS, on paper), Village Health Sanitation and Nutrition Committees, School Management Committees/Village Education Committees, Village Development Committees and Village Level Forums (under NRLM) and Saksham groups of Kishores. At another level, lessons from the project could feed into policies which have little to say on "Responsible Partners and Caring Fathers" working towards gender equality and promoting child rights.

3.0 Evaluation frameworks and methodology

3.1 Evaluation Framework

3.1.1 Masculinities

When referring to masculinities we are referring to power, norms and behaviour associated with men and the different ways of being a man. There are many ways to be a man and the term "hegemonic masculinity" refers to the construction of masculinity which is characterised by several key tenets: 1) maintaining distance from femininity; 2) restricting emotions; 3) being tough and aggressive (avoiding vulnerability); 4) being seen as highly sexual with women; and 5) proving one's heterosexuality via homophobia (Women and Gender Advocacy Centre, n.d). Masculine privilege is the idea that men are accorded unearned benefits, rights, and advantages in society. While the construction of hegemonic masculinity is held not only by men but also by women, the privileges accrue mainly to men (though mothers of sons may have some privileges over mothers of daughters). Not all men hold such hegemonic notions of masculinity. Masculinities are shaped by race, caste, class, ethnicity, religion, gender identity, disability, location, etc. Men who are oppressed in one or more ways within this structure embody "marginalised masculinities", which are ways of being men that are seen as less than, or ridiculed by, more privileged men as a means of constructing their own identities as men. Both hegemonic and marginalised masculinities have a

bearing on men being responsible partners and caring fathers from the gender equality and child rights perspective, in negative and somewhat positive ways respectively. In this evaluation, the focus will be on understanding if the construction of hegemonic masculinities has begun to change in the last three years, and the differences in changes across caste, ethnic groups and ages.

3.1.2 Empowerment Framework

Rowlands (1998) distinguishes between four ways of exercising power, one negative and three positive. Power over refers to exercising power over others in a subordinate position, like men over women, parents over children, caste Hindus over Dalits, majorities over minorities, heterosexuals over people of diverse sexual orientations, etc. In this evaluation, the concept of “power over” will be used to examine if members of FGs are exercising less control over their partners and children and if members of KGs are exercising less power over sisters, and if this is having a ripple effect on communities and schools

With regard to positive uses of power, Rowlands distinguishes between power to, power with and power within, which are elaborated below in the context of this evaluation:

- power to—conscientisation at individual level—entailing men supporting women’s care work, gender parity in health and education, women’s mobility, women’s work outside, women’s rights to property, women’s and girls’ bodily integrity and political choices. ‘Power to’ also entails men supporting ending child labour and corporal punishment
- power with—conscientisation at collective level—entailing men’s collective action in instances of child marriage, violence against women and girls, and making local services accountable to gender equality and child rights
- Power within entails members of FGs and KGs moving towards sustained (beyond the project period) changes in progressive values and norms on gender and child rights.

This framework will be used to capture positive and negative changes, anticipated and unanticipated, and the contribution of the intervention to the changes is then assessed.

3.1.3 Social relations and institutions

Evaluations using the Social Relations and Gender Transformation Framework assess progress/ setbacks towards changing power relations of gender, caste, class, religion, age, abilities etc., played out in institutions of household, community, market and state (Kabeer, 1994). This framework will be used to examine the following:

- household level changes in gender division of work, child care practices, resources, decision making, and bodily integrity
- community level changes in social and cultural norms, practices and structures which perpetuate gender inequalities and child rights;
- market level changes in gender-based access to markets, gender discriminatory allocation and valuation of work, access to value chains and producer companies/ unions, etc.
- state level access to services for women and children and gender and age sensitivity of same.

3.2 Methodology/methods

The evaluation draws upon findings from the baseline and endline survey conducted by CHSJ and its partners and its documentation of significant change. In addition, it draws upon findings from gender-transformative participatory methods that were used at individual, group and institution levels to ascertain progress towards responsible partners and caring fathers acting towards ending gender equality and child rights. As mentioned, before–after comparisons and participant–non participant comparisons were made. See Annex 4 for details on which methods were adopted with whom.

A brief description of the gender-transformative participatory methods used is given below:

- **Recall of topics covered in training and rating of how they have applied:** This was an entry point for discussions, beginning with topics they remembered and moving to what they did not immediately remember, but did so after prompting. Once application of insights from training inputs/ group discussions was discussed, participants were asked to rate themselves on their own application on a scale of 1 to 4, and by fathers and Kishores in the village. They were asked to rate themselves at the time of discussion and when the project began. With partners of FG members the “**passing the parcel**” game was played, with the participants who got the parcels having to share changes, if any, seen in their partner in the last three years, with possible reasons for the same.
- **Mapping of what it is to be a good father, good spouse and good Kishore:** This was explored with animators, FG members and members of KGs. Both unprompted and prompted responses were recorded and participants were asked to rate themselves across these parameters at the time of evaluation, and before the intervention began. Reasons for changes observed were also discussed. Further, they were asked to rate fathers/ Kishores not in the group in the village across criteria they had identified.
- **Body mapping:** This was adopted mainly with partners of animators (if there was privacy), wherein they were asked to map their body, and discuss and rate their mobility (legs), workload (hands), reproductive decisions (uterus), control over sexual relations (vagina) and their overall body (body integrity) now and before their partners became members. They were then requested to specify what their controls were before the intervention and point to reasons for the same.
- **Star ranking:** Another method of exploration that was used with primary stakeholders and partners was star diagramming, with each corner of a star representing one element: sharing of care work, economic equality, political freedom, health/ reproduction, absence of domestic violence and equal treatment of girls and boys. Partners of fathers and women’s SHG members were asked to rate their partners a scale of 1 to 4, rate situation before intervention and share reasons for change (if any).
- **Division of labour and resources mapping:** This method entailed mapping different kinds of work in a household and who does what (with different signs for sharing and helping). Changes in the division of labour along with the reasons are discussed. A distinction is made between care work within and outside the house. Similarly, the different resources owned/ used/ consumed by the members of households are mapped, along with who has access and control over what. Changes in the same and reasons for same are discussed.
- **Mobility mapping:** This exercise was facilitated with women in the SHGs who drew where they can go within and outside the village alone or with whom. For which purpose they needed to inform their partner in the FGs, and for which purpose they needed to take permission of their partners was also asked. This was contrasted with mobility of their partners. Changes in their own mobility and reasons for the same were ascertained.

- **Gender-based violence mapping:** The participants were asked to list/ draw different forms of violence against women and girls in their village, and estimate in how many out of 100 households each form of violence was experienced. Changes in incidence of violence against women over the last three years were discussed, along with reasons for the observed changes. This method was used with women SHG members and Panchayat Raj Institution (PRI) representatives.
- **Linkages and ripple effect mapping:** This method entailed mapping the different groups, committees and services the village and linkages of FGs and KGs with these (if any). Changes, if any, in linkages with reasons were mapped as well as perceptions on what changes were required to change community norms and strengthen accountability in gender equality and child rights.
- **Agree/ disagree exercise:** Attitudes on gender division of roles, women's mobility, gender-based violence and gender-based political participation were gathered from animators, FG members, Kishores, non-intervention participants and women's SHG members. Towards the end, views on sex selection were also ascertained. Specifically, the following five statements were used: i) "Women's primary role is to take care of home, while men's primary role is to earn outside", ii) "Women need to take permission from husbands before going out", iii) "If a woman elected to PRI has got a lot of workload her husband can represent her in PRI meetings", iv) "If an unmarried woman/ girl is raped by a man it is best to get her married to him" and v) If a couple already have two girls it is ok to engage in sex selection. The participants were asked to agree or disagree, and state their reasons. Changes in their perceptions after joining the FG or KG (where applicable) were also ascertained.

Details of which method was used with which stakeholder are given in Annex 4

4.0 Findings

4.1 Relevance of programme theory

The detailed programme theory for the field intervention is attached as Annex 5. The Programme Theory envisages that the situation of uninvolved and authoritarian father and partner, situation of low status of women and children, and lack of accountability of services at local level towards gender and child rights will change through developing a cadre of trained facilitators (from NGOs), who in turn will facilitate FG and KG meetings, which will analyse the situation on gender and child rights (through Participatory Rural Appraisal), prioritise actions required and implement the same vis-a-vis themselves, relationships within families, communities (through social action) and institutions (through citizen accountability). The domains of intervention (care/ workload, health, economic, reproductive rights, bodily integrity, decision making) are in keeping with the spheres of gender discrimination and child rights violations highlighted in the section on context (other than political participation and high levels of drinking by men). The facilitators were to take the help of animators selected from amongst the FGs, and were to be supported by senior mentors from outside. The programme theory is well thought off and, as shall be argued, is largely valid.

However, the programme theory needs to take into account the following:

- The purpose of KGs is not well defined, in particular whether the project is preparing them for future father/ Partner roles, or/ and whether it is dealing with Kishore's existential reality and removing gender discrimination in their relations with sisters, female classmates and girls in the village.
- It is not clear from the programme theory whether women's SHGs are seen partnering the change process outside households, because if men and Kishores intervene alone at community and institutional level on women's interests it can be patronising and reduce the agency of women. This has also been pointed by the evaluation of the Maharashtra intervention of CHSJ
- A well defined strategy of social action and accountability of services to gender equality and child rights, beyond liaisoning, could have been included in the programme theory.
- Notions of hegemonic masculinities are held by both men and Kishores and women and girls (see NFHS-4 data on attitudes on domestic violence). A conscious strategy of raising awareness amongst women and girls on hegemonic masculinities would have been good.

4.2 Effectiveness in rolling out of the strategy

4.2.1 Institutional mechanism

The project is implemented by CHSJ in partnership with three NGOs, namely Srijan for Ranchi, ChotanagpurSanskritikSangh (CSS) for Gumla and Sahyogini for Bokaro District. A facilitator has been appointed by each NGO for the project, whose responsibility is to identify potential villages and stakeholders, identify and support animators in group formation, conduct trainings and meetings related to 'Responsible Partner and Caring Father', conduct campaigns and arrange referral services where necessary, and lobby with service providers in the interest of the project.

The animator is to play an important role by being a role model for the village—an example of being a responsible partner and caring father. In addition, he is to mobilise fathers and Kishores, form groups and organise meetings, develop leadership amongst members of FGs and KGs and strengthen change amongst fathers/ Kishores in the village.

The facilitators and animators are to be supported by mentors, who have experience in implementing programmes with men and boys on gender equality on the ground (which the partner NGOs may or may not have). The mentor is supposed to provide strategic, conceptual and troubleshooting support. According to facilitators and animators in Ranchi and Bokaro, this support has been valuable. The mentor for Srijan stated he brought into discussion the debates on inter caste marriages which were not part of the content right. However, implementation of the mentorship concept has been constrained in Gumla District, which is infrastructurally less developed, with no good hotels for mentors to stay in.

The project is overall managed by a Programme Manager, CHSJ. His job includes planning the project with the partners and the Programme Director, CHSJ, training facilitators and animators, monitoring progress on the project, documenting case studies and drafting progress reports. As per the proposal, there are supposed to be observers in each village from amongst the indirect stakeholders, who observe and report on the change process. At Ranchi, the project is to be supported by Advisory Committee members from human rights, networking and other backgrounds.

The institutional arrangement is well thought off and worth replication. There is one gap, and that is there is as of now no institutional mechanism for involving women's groups in a systematic manner (beyond PRA) when prioritising issues and when taking collective action. As shall be discussed,

women have a different understanding of what gender-based violence issues they want the project to act upon.

4.2.2 Animators' training and retreat with partner

A facilitator was recruited specifically for this project by Srijan, while an existing staff member was deputed to be a facilitator by the other two organisations. Thirty of the selected animators were trained along with the three facilitators through seven workshops on the following themes:

- a) Introduction to project and gender concepts (6 days),
- b) Patriarchy, gender based violence and group facilitation (3 days),
- c) Understanding change, leadership, advocacy and documentation (3 days)
- d) Men and masculinity and reconstruction of masculinities (3 days)
- e) Understanding caring, child rights and social media (3 days)
- f) Social mapping, PRA and public institutions at local level (4 days)
- g) Reproductive rights, social accountability in health and advocacy (3 days)

A total of 25 days was invested in training animators and three facilitators. Of the 30 animators who began the programme, seven left (five from CSS) in between as they got better opportunities or because they could not concentrate on their main business. The training programmes were facilitated by the Programme Coordinator, CHSJ based in Ranchi and the Programme Director of CHSJ based in Delhi. A variety of participatory methods were used for training, like group discussions, case studies, exercises, role plays, video clippings, balloon shaping, etc.

A retreat was organised for animators with their partners and small children if need be. This was the first time they met other animators and their partners. The partners got to know better about the project, shared changes seen in animators after they joined and this was compared with what the animators themselves reported. The yardstick for partners increased, as they knew what the most gender sensitive amongst the animators was doing. In some retreats men and women had to sit alternatively. During the retreat men cooked and took care of the children while the women relaxed. The partners of animators cherished this event. Further, partners from different economic background, ethnicity, castes and religion mixed together.

4.2.3 Training of group members

The trained facilitators and animators in turn organised monthly meetings cum discussion forums with fathers and Kishores in ten villages. The topics covered in the group meetings included:

- control over women's mobility
- early age marriage
- workload on women
- privileges and restrictions on men and women
- access and control over resources
- role of men and women in families
- typology and impact of violence
- safe mobility
- role of men during and after pregnancy

The topics covered both problems and alternatives. A variety of participatory methods was outlined for each topic, and the group members did recall some of the methods. According to the facilitators, these nine topics had been covered in most groups. The same topics were modified for KGs, and issues such as non-policing of sisters, their role in care work and (non) harassment of girls were added. If however, a pressing issue emerged at the village level or relating to the group members, that was prioritised.

The topics are indeed comprehensive and cover most of the gender and child rights issues highlighted in the context section. Perhaps nutrition across life cycle (not just pregnancy), economic participation of women and men and political participation of women could be added. Yet another aspect that could be woven in more is diversity amongst men and women, across ethnicity, religion, caste, abilities, sexual orientation and gender identity, and how these interact with gender identities. Legislation and government programmes related to each of these could be discussed, as well as participatory audit of services from a gender and child rights lens. Finally, situational assessment and action points could be included as part of the group discussions.

Better training recall by animators?

If one looks at recall of training and discussion, the recall of topics covered was higher amongst animators than group members probably because the training was facilitated by more experienced people. Mentors did not come for each meeting. The topics most recalled by both were related to men's helping in housework and child care, prevention of child marriage and its consequences, role of fathers in immunisation of children and controlling anger. Animators further recalled men's role in preventing violence against women, importance of girls' education, maternal health, mobility of women, and adolescent girls' health. Both did not recall men's role in economic participation of women, property rights of women or political participation of women. While animators mentioned "sharing of work", group members more referred to "helping".

Areas where more thought is required are age and marital status of group members and transition of people from different groups. In a few villages, it was noted that there were 30–50% non-biological fathers in FGs and many of them were not married. Of course, they could be social fathers to their nieces, nephews, etc. While including a few social fathers may be good, the purpose of the project could be defeated if one third or half of the group were social fathers. In other groups, some fathers had become grandfathers during the three years! In the case of KGs, the participants ranged from 11 to 25 in one group, making it too diverse to facilitate discussion. Typically, adolescents are 11 to 19 years old and youth, according to the government, are those between 15–29 years. .

Another area where greater thought is required is the attendance rate. The average attendance in some FGs in Ranchi and Gumla was around 50–60% due to migration in search of work. Some members of FGs mentioned that they called up other members to find out what happened in group meetings. Others did not do this. The same picture emerges with regard to KGs, but absenteeism was due to other reasons like the need to attend tuition sessions, exams, need to support father's business after school and need to take care of home if father migrates. Further, the afternoon was stated to be a difficult time to attend meetings, while some of the meetings were held then.

A respondent who had seen training programmes for animators and FG and KG meetings, observed that the former was much more participatory than the latter. While the topic of facilitation has been covered as part of training of animator and facilitator, allocating a day is not enough for this topic for

facilitators while being enough for animators whose role is to help assemble people and carry out campaigns.

4.2.4 Participatory rural appraisal (PRA)

Early into the programme a social mapping and PRA was carried to prioritise needs and interests in each village. Men, women, village leaders and in some cases, service providers took part in the PRA exercise, and priority issues that should be addressed in/ by FG and KG were identified through a process of secret voting. One Sarpanch from Bokaro expressed that the PRA fostered democratic values. In one of the villages of Ranchi, the men and women who took part in the PRA exercise prioritised men's role in ensuring healthy pregnancy and safe delivery, preventing violence against women, children's immunisation, children's education, ending child marriage, monitoring services of anganwadi centres, schools and public distribution system. They stated that other than age at marriage of men and children's education, the situation on all other issues needs vast improvement. While the PRA is impressive, critical issues such as the burden of domestic work and child care, restrictions on women's mobility, economic participation of women, ownership of resources and political participation of women (covered in the group discussion) have not come out. In Bokaro, the low sex ratio at birth did not figure in the discussion. There is need for greater synch between the comprehensive nature of the project, and what emerges in the PRA process.

मुद्दा	स्कोर	संकेत
1- पोषण आहार - (A) आंगनवाड़ी (B) स्कूल (C) राशन की दुकान	46% 22% 37%	Red bars
2- हिंसा - (महिला, लड़कियां)	54%	Red bar
3- शिक्षा - (स्कूल जाने वाले) लड़का	86%	Green bar
लड़की	87%	Green bar
शौचालय -		
घर	7%	Red bar
स्कूल	50%	Red bar
आंगनवाड़ी	00%	Red bar

मापदंड
बहल - 80% तक
ठीक-ठाक - 60% से 80% तक
खराब - 60% तक

4.2.5 Campaigns

After a year or so into the programme, campaigns were conducted on International Women's Day and 16 Days of Activism Against Gender Based Violence. These took some common and some

different forms across the three organisations. All three implementing NGOs used wall posters to communicate messages on men's roles in promoting gender equality and child rights. Srijan used street theatre at the village level to raise awareness on the roles of men in sharing care work, gender equality and child rights. The wall posters of Srijan focused on ending child marriage. CSS used football with girls as a strategy to raise awareness amongst men and women that adolescent girls too could play non traditional games. Adolescent girls played against boys, and they appropriated part of the playground for themselves. These actions represented taboos that were broken. Girls competed at district and state levels, with the coach and (often) accompanied by their brother or father. The wall messages of CSS were on diverse topics pertaining to gender equality, including on violence against women. In the case of the NGO Sahyogini, the campaign took the form of debates on gender equality in panchayat offices, cycle rallies to end child marriage, and gender fairs which included fun games like a competition amongst men on who makes perfect "rotis" (Indian bread). The wall messages focused on corporal punishment, gender discrimination amongst children, division of care work, etc.

A campaign strategy in all three areas is evolving a citizens' charter by FGs and other important stakeholders in a participatory manner. The citizens' charter on men's responsibilities was hung in tea shops, anganwadi centres, schools or houses. It covered men's responsibility in ensuring women and children avail anganwadi, school and PDS facilities, in accompanying pregnant women to health centres, adopting spacing methods, ensuring there is no dropout of children, preventing acts of violence on women and children and ending child marriage. However, those stakeholders who took part in the PRA remember the charter more than those who did not as the charter was framed on the basis of PRA. Further, while the nine topics for group discussions covered men's role in sharing house work, economic and political realms, this charter did not.

Of all the campaign strategies, the gender equality and child rights messages communicated through street theatre performed in the village were remembered the most by villagers. On the other hand, gender melas, mixed-sex cycle races, football matches, anti-child marriage rallies and debates in panchayat bhavans reached a wider set of stakeholders. A combination of both may be required.



4.2.6 Monitoring and Information system (MIS)

The MIS report for facilitators is simple yet comprehensive, and captures process, outputs and outcomes at individual level. There is space for recording stories of change at animator, father and Kishore levels, and information gathered through this system has been used to document stories of change and record stories through videos. As of now, there is no place in the format for recording collective responsibility exercised by the FGs or KGs towards gender equality, like preventing child marriage and domestic violence and re-enrolling dropouts in villages, etc. Such actions are happening, and this could be recorded as well. MIS system needs to be strengthened by analysing once in six months “domains of change”, “extent of change” (helping vs sharing), and “scale of change” (individual, relatives, community). Formats for participatory audit of local services from a gender and child rights lens could also be considered

There was also a baseline and endline survey conducted which captured quantitatively gender relations and men’s participation in household and child care responsibilities, as well as their attitudes towards gender, masculinity, violence and child rights. The baseline survey was done with men, women and adolescents, however the endline could only be done with men. A comparison of metrics from the baseline and endline findings is provided in the annexure.

5.0 Outcomes at individual, community and others levels:

Perspectives of different stakeholders

5.1 Changes at Individual and family Levels

5.1.1 Animators

The most significant change reported by the 28 animators in group exercises of the Evaluation Mission is progress towards sharing of domestic work (cooking, cleaning vessels, sweeping, cleaning toilets), followed by child care (bathing children and getting them ready for school). Several animators expressed that in the past they used to be afraid of doing such work in public, as other men would tease them stating “You are getting henpecked”. Now they answer back that the well-being of their partner and child is important to them.

A few of the animators reported greater and equal investment in education of their daughters as compared to sons, ensuring that their children are immunised, taking care of their partners’ health and happiness, curbing excessive drinking and controlling their anger and tendency to violence as the most significant changes. One animator said, “Earlier I used to get angry and beat my partner and children, now I do not”. Another said, “I was reluctant about my partner working, now she works as SHG facilitator and record keeper”. He, however, helps her in account keeping. Another said, “My partner works as Sahiya, I drop and pick her up when necessary”. One animator stated “There was more love in the relationship now, and he and his partner went out together”. The video films on animators and stories on significant changes recorded by CHSJ echo similar changes. The newer they were, the less changes they were able to report. Changes in terms of supporting property rights of partners and spouses’ political participation were few.

Of six spouses of animators interviewed, a **partner of an animator** who had completed her graduation described her husband as:

“The best husband, who engages in care work (including cleaning my one and a half year daughter when she defecates), was by my side during delivery, does not get angry,

occasionally drinks but does not get drunk, gave me a cloth absorbent sanitary pad to use which is absorbent, decides jointly on spacing, does not force himself on me when tired, allows me to keep jewels which my parents gave and visits them with me whenever I want, transfers money into my bank account (and does not ask for accounting) and encourages me to get back to work as soon as my child is older. When we go to my parents' house, he does housework there too! Sometimes, I get up after him with my child, and he goes to work without disturbing me. I give him four on four marks on each corner of the star: care work, supporting my mobility, independent bank account and reproductive health and my rights, controlling his anger. "

The concerned animator had joined the program more or less at the same time as they got married (love marriage), this was also true of three other spouses of animators interviewed. An interesting finding is that the animators who got married at the same time of joining the programmes "were reported to be good partners" from the beginning by their yardsticks, and did not get physically or sexually violent with them. While they helped in housework earlier, it increased after joining the project. One partner of an animator who got married less than a year back observed that they went to wash clothes jointly, giving them more time to be together, and she had just written exams for the Jharkhand civil service.



Two other partners of animators interviewed were married before the programme and could better share "before–after" differences, that their husbands helped more than before in child care (two), husbands did household work in public (one), husbands cleaned toilets now (one), husbands helped themselves to food instead of expecting to be served (one), husbands took them out more often

including to maternal house (two), husbands came to watch movies together on mobile phone (one), husbands were less angry than before (two), husbands give them more money for running the household (one), husbands now adopted methods for spacing (one by animator, one by partner), husbands did not force himself on the partner (one) and husbands came along to take their child for immunisation (one).

However, agricultural land was still owned by men, and around half of animators' partners did not have independent earnings. While the reported increase in domestic and care work is more amongst the animators than fathers (next section), there are caveats, for example in that the language was one of "helping", "allowing" and "giving". A concern is that three of the four spouses of young animators seemed to have low BMI, while their husbands looked healthy.

Some attitudinal questions were asked to animators in all three districts

	Ranchi (% who gave progressive answers)	Gumla (% who gave progressive answers)	Bokaro (% who gave progressive answers)
Taking care of the house is the most important role of women, and taking care of work outside in the most important role of men		67%	67%
A woman should ask permission of her husband before going out		89%	100%
If an elected woman has lots of house work, her husband can go instead of her to PRI meeting		89%	100%
If a woman gets raped by a man, it is best they should married		89%	11%
If a couple has two daughters, and is pregnant again, it is all right to engage in sex selection		Not asked	

The selection process of animators has by and large been good, with more sensitive fathers being chosen to become animators (see next section). The changes seen in animators, with exceptions, were higher in younger animators, those with more formal education, and those who also held other positions like PRI membership. While differences were not seen across districts, the newer animators could report less change (high turnover in Gumla).

Taking control over her body: The story of partner of an animator

Through a body mapping exercise, the high school educated partner of an animator from Gumla District expressed that she can now go without permission of the animator, while earlier they used to argue around it. She feels she has control over her legs. She is the president of her group, but used to seek his help in maintaining records. Hence, she feels that she had partial control over her hands, and would like to learn accounts. She expressed that she takes reproductive decisions (and has control over her womb), her husband wanted to stop after three girls, but she wanted a boy. Now that she delivered a boy, she adopts oral pills. It was a joint decision. She was scared he

would become weak if he underwent vasectomy. With regard to food, she expressed that they shared food that was available, giving priority to children. Earlier, he used to beat her if there was food shortage, not now. In fact, after joining the group he has stopped beating her altogether, as well as forcing her to have sexual relations when she was tired or there was no privacy. On the whole, she felt she had control over her body now. She shared that he washed his clothes now and that of the children, but she did not allow him to wash her clothes as her mother-in-law did not like it. He cleans children after defecation and toilet sometimes. She feels that her body gets rest sometimes. Her husband has no land or house of his own. As per custom, he will inherit his share (in his name). She does not own land. Recently, his sister had come to natal house for safe abortion, which animator has arranged through a doctor. She expressed that in their group as well they talk about women's equality. At times, they argued, but after each argument he would win her over through feeding her.





5.1.2 Changes in fathers

Fathers admitted to less domains or spheres of changes in FGDs than animators, but were more open to sharing in individual interviews. As we shall see, their attitudes on the four to five key questions that were posed were less progressive than those of the animators.

For most of the fathers, this was the first time they had come together as a group of men to change themselves in respect of gender issues and child rights, though a few were members of PRIs or statutory committees where some gender issues were discussed. The most significant change that fathers mentioned was helping in housework (fetching water, cooking, sweeping, buying vegetables, washing clothes and cleaning toilets in that order) and getting children ready to go to school (giving them a bath, dressing them, ensuring they ate, dropping them). However, few fathers admitted to routinely engaging in housework or child care activities, and sharing the load equally, which matches the findings from baseline–endline surveys. Next important shift mentioned by fathers was taking children for immunisation, which they said they did not do before. Unlike animators, helping in work within the privacy of home was more common than outside, though some engage in care work in the front courtyard and answer back to any taunts from men like, “... you have become a female?”

One father from Bokaro mentioned, “I have now accepted that my son wants to pursue music and my daughter medicine”, breaking gender norms. Another from Ranchi mentioned, “I get less angry, which has strengthened my relationships with my wife and children”. One father from Bokaro admitted to “getting drunk and hitting his wife and son (latter with belt) earlier, and having stopped now”. One father from Gumla stated, “I told my wife it is fine if we have daughters, we can stop. Boys and girls are equal”. A member of an FG living with disability, who was a contractor for executing construction work (entered into a wedding of choice before the group was formed) observed that “I am now open to shift my base if my wife, pursuing her Phd in English, got a job in Ranchi. She likes to wear salwar-kameez and it is her choice”.



Relatives of fathers (unlike animators) had a more nuanced perception of changes, at times supporting their views and at times contradicting them. One son from Bokaro, also in KG, pointed out, “My father is better behaved, but has not stopped hitting me or my mother. But he has stopped using belt”. Another father from Bokaro was stated to have looked after his wife well when she was sick and to have done most of the housework with his mother. Once she was better, he reverted to helping in housework. In fact, his wife, a member of a SHG, took the decision to undergo sterilization by herself, and then informed her husband (FG member) and mother-in-law (the latter thought one more son would be good). The FG member was reported to be sitting on the fence, but supported her decision later. One daughter from Gumla mentioned, “My father goes regularly to work after he joined the FG, and now has two occupations”. A partner of a FG member also mentioned the same thing. In a way, a responsible husband was seen by relatives as being responsible in a traditional way. One spouse of FG member from Gumla admitted that her husband now “...allowed her to work outside and dropped her to work and picked her up to bring her back”. A spouse of an FG member

observed that “...he is now encouraging me to join women’s SHGs”. A daughter from Gumla observed that she felt more loved by her father now than before, and that he was proud of her playing football.

FG members were asked to respond to the same set of attitudinal questions as were posed before animators. As can be seen from Table 2, members of FGs hold more progressive attitudes than non members, with the difference being more marked in Ranchi and Gumla, but by and large attitudes were less progressive than those of animators. In Bokaro, non-members were from Santhal communities whose attitudes on gender are considered more liberal than the members of FGs interviewed from BC, OBC, Muslims and Orion communities. Opinions on the primary role of women and men and the need for permission for women to go outside were shaped by discussions in meetings, and the other two were indirectly shaped. Around 60% of members of FGs who held progressive views at the time of evaluation reported that this was an outcome of engagement in the project.

	% of Fathers who gave progressive answers			Non members (% non members who gave progressive answers)		
	R	G	B	R	G	B
Taking care of the house is the most important role of women, and taking care of work outside in the most important role of men	75%	75%	67%	29%	8%	100%
A woman should ask permission of her husband before going out	60%	33%	25%	0%	0%	67%
If an elected woman has lots of house work, her husband can go instead of her to PRI meeting	50%	25%	82%	29%	0%	71%
If a woman gets raped by a man, it is best they should married	50%	58%	57%	17%	15%	29%
If a couple has two daughters, and is pregnant again, it is all right to engage in sex selection	-	75%	100%	-	-	100%

Of the four questions asked, the most progressive answer was with regard to whether taking care of the house was the most important role of women, and taking care of the work outside was men’s most important job. Where asked, most FG members believed that sex selection of males was wrong. Attitudes affirming the need for women to take permission from them or from mothers-in-law before they go out of the village, that men could attend meetings on behalf of women elected representatives, that a women who had been raped could get married to the man still persist, though the situation is better than with non-members. In particular, attitudes of FGs in Gumla require strengthening. Most members and non-member feel that sex selective abortion is not correct.

Of the 30 FGs formed, one actually collapsed in the midst of a father bringing the three perpetrators of rape to book through filing a FIR under POSCO, and winning the case as well. The group collapsed, as some of the perpetrators were related to the group members and wanted a compromise solution precisely linked to the attitudinal questions. (See case study below). The collapse can be seen as a

backlash and not a failure, and now that the concerned father has been proved right, there are indications that the positions of the villagers are changing.

A father who stood for justice for his daughter

I have been a member of the father's group in my village, Ranchi district from beginning. A little over a year ago my minor daughter (In 7th class) got raped by three people from the same village. It was 12.30 in the night and she had not returned from the celebrations of a marriage. There was dancing, and she stayed back while I returned with my wife and other younger daughter. My older daughter told me that she will return with her friends. Me and my wife were afraid. She came in a daze, weak and crying. My wife started scolding her for coming late, but I realised that something was amiss and gave her a cup of tea. She was and is my pet. I went to file an FIR in the police station after informing a few ward members. The Sarpanch was not supportive. The Police Inspector refused to file an FIR. I had studied only till 4th, but used to read the newspaper regularly. I recognised the phone number of the Superintendent of the Police and called him. He was supportive, but told me that once I filed the FIR there was no going back as the case came under POSCO Act. That night I did not sleep. By the time the Superintendent of Police came and we finished filing FIR under the POSCO it was 6.30 AM. We took my daughter for medical checkup. There was pressure from all sides- including some of the FG members who were related to the perpetrators- to compromise (money, marriage). Me and my wife (who is a member of women's group) did not want to compromise. We encouraged our daughter to memorise what she told us and the police, and not to change the narrative if she was grilled. The three of the perpetrators were put behind bars, and a month back (after a year) the verdict has come in favour of my daughter. Now we hold our heads high, and my daughter is now in 8th in the same school opposite my house. I would have done the same even if I was not in father's group, but I may not have succeeded as I did not know how to talk, I would not have had the support of the facilitator and lawyer associated with Srijan. Even if the perpetrator was one man, I would not have got her married to him. It will not be justice to him and there will be more such crimes.

5.1.3 Changes in Kishores

The KG members met only in groups, and unlike the fathers, there were no individual interviews held with them. A majority of the KG members met shared that they started helping in housework only after joining the group. The next area of change (said by 25% or less) that the KG members pointed to was to stop hitting younger siblings, helping them with their education, less/ not controlling their sisters, and monitoring that their other brothers do not do so too. In Ranchi and Gumla, boys observed that girls came and played in the "maidan" (open ground). Around 10–20% of group members admitted to teasing girls before and having stopped that now. When asked, members of one group observed that food was now distributed equally at home, especially in houses where both adolescents and fathers are part of the programme (roughly around 20% of participant households). In a few families of KG members, the mothers get beaten up; and they did not know how to stop the same (including one where the father is a member).



Said the parents and elder sister of a KG member in Ranchi District –

“Our son/ brother used to be out of the house all the time. He was hardly at home, leave alone helping in housework. We were worried as to what he was doing. He used to get angry, and throw things and at times talk disrespectfully. He did not know how to talk to elders. Now all that has changed. Further, if he catches any boy whistling at girls he stops them and tell them not to. Whatever he misses, we encourage him not to miss the KG meetings”.

In Ranchi, the ages of KG members varied, and on an average, they had attended only six meetings out of 12. They reported that keeping the criteria of sharing of work, (no) child marriage, (no) eve teasing, (non) control of sister, no hitting siblings, they rated themselves 3 and the village 2 on a scale of 1 to 4. Before joining the group, they rated themselves as 2 on 4. The KG members in Gumla and Bokaro had attended most of the meetings. In Bokaro, KG members gave themselves a rating of 3.7 on a similar scale (adding one more criteria—respect to parents), and the village 3 on similar parameters. They considered themselves 2 before joining the group, and they expressed that the village had grown with them (discussed later). In Gumla, time did not permit a self ranking exercise.

While marked progress on gender is reported at a qualitative level by the KGs, when asked in Gumla as to whether they wanted to be born male or female in their next births, the majority of the boys stated that they wanted to be born again as boys as “the workload of women is too much, they have less freedom to go where they want, that have less time to play, they cannot plough, girls get sexually harassed”. They also observed that the population would increase if there are too many girls. This points to the fact that the situation of the village on gender equality is still grim.

While the adolescents perceive changes, the results of the quiz below in Gumla and Bokaro⁵ (Table) show that attitudes still need to change on need for women to seek permission and marriage as the solution if a girl gets raped, though there were conditionalities like raped by one man, not much age difference, not if she is a minor, not much education difference, her consent is obtained, etc. Only a few perceived that it was a crime, and it should be reported to the police under POSCO or another appropriate Act. The self-perceived rating on progress on gender equality may not reflect the true picture. In Gumla, 50% of the KG members felt that taking permission of the husband was important, and the question was then asked if men took permission. In Bokaro, half the members felt that taking care of the household is the most important role of members.

	Gumla (% who gave progressive answers)	Bokaro (% who gave progressive answers)
Taking care of the house is the most important role of women, and taking care of work outside in the most important role of men	67%	50%
A woman should ask permission of her husband before going out	50%	50%
If an elected woman has lots of housework, her husband can go instead of her to PRI meeting	33%	67%
If a woman gets raped by a man, it is best they should married	22%	33%
If a couple has two daughters, and is pregnant again, it is all right to engage in sex selection	Not asked	100%

The parents and relatives of six KG members observed that they studied, helped in housework and listened to and respected adults more than before. One relative mentioned that a KG member had dropped out of school before joining the group as the teacher had publicly shamed him for getting into a fight. And the KG and FG member who was in the school's management committee helped him and another boy not in the group to rejoin education (in another school, though). For a widow in Ranchi District, the fact that her son (member of a KG) helped in washing clothes reduced her work burden. She felt he had friends of better characters after joining the group. Parents of a KG member in Gumla District observed that the member was different from other two sons, helping in housework, "looking after" his sister and resolving disputes in the family. A gender transformative support extended by a KG member from Bokaro was to support his dad when the dad made a will giving him and his only sister equal shares in family property. This happened before he joined the group, and he understood the implications and appreciated them after joining the group. On a mixed note, one member, in his 10th Class, was reported to be less angry, helping his dad with his tea

⁵ Not carried out in Ranchi due to constraints.

shop when the workload got too much, helping his mother with her chores, and monitoring the dress of his sister. His mother thought this monitoring was positive. Monitoring the dresses of sisters may not be desirable, as well as too much of work when one is studying in Class 10.

School teachers/ school management committee members also commented on changes seen in members of KGs. The principal of a middle school in Bokaro observed that there were three children in her school who were members of a KG, of whom two had passed out. The children were more confident, respectful and cleaner in personal appearances. None of them engaged in eve teasing, which was not true of others.

5.2 Changes amongst non-participants:

Several pathways through which information on “Caring father and Responsible partner” initiative reaches non-members are described in the Figure



Drop-in participants are those who come when they can to the FG and KG meetings, as was noted during the evaluation meeting. According to one of the two mentors met, non-members always come when the FG meeting or KG meeting is held. Drop-in participants and some of the male relatives (brother, brothers-in-law for example) of members of an FG started ‘helping’ in housework and care work. In particular fetching water, cooking, dropping children to school. However, few mentioned that non participants cleaned toilets, children after defecation or publicly washed clothes or utensils. One mother of a member of an FG mentioned “*seeing him his brother helps in house work*”. One animator’s partner observed, “*My husband counsels his brother who drinks heavily. Now he has reduced, and gives money for household expenses*”. A sister in law observed “*seeing my brother-in-law, a FG member, drop his children to work, my husband does too. I tell my husband your brother does, why cannot you?*”

The non-members met of groups who took part in campaigns mentioned that they understood the consequence of child marriage (Ranchi and Bokaro), became aware that they were equal to boys (girl from Gumla who took part in cycle rally) and that men can make chappatis too (women SHG member in Bokaro).

Duty bearers – who are not members of these groups- are also getting sensitised on gender equality. To give an example, one Sarpanch was all for getting a rape survivor and perpetrator married. After sensitisation by the animator and facilitator, and the father of the survivor himself, he started slowly supporting the survivor. Anganwadi workers and ANMs met by the mission were aware of the project, and mentioned there are more men who bring men for immunisation than before, though still a minority. The Sahiya's involvement with the project varied. In instances where FG members/animations were part of Panchayati Raj Institutions and School Management Committees discussions were held on sharing of work and gender equality in these institutional spaces too. One Gram Sabha meeting last year was devoted by the government to gender equality which was used by the project to spread the message in Ranchi. The impact of these discussions beyond raising awareness is not clear.

On the whole two messages have spread to non-members - 'helping' in domestic work and care work and child marriage. Of the two issues, discussions with stakeholders show that child marriage has more or less stopped in the villages visited, and men are 'helping' in housework more than before (though far from equal). While the project has contributed to the decrease in child marriage by bringing it strongly into public debate and facilitating collective action, other initiatives like messages through women's SHGs formed under NRLM and (in the case of Bokaro) television has also had a role to play. However, if beyond FGs and KGs additional men are helping in care work it can largely be attributed to the project.

5.3 Changes in social norms at community level:

In a short span of three years, it is ambitious to expect social norms to change. Yet repeatedly in discussions with SHG members and PRI members, two changes in norms are mentioned: prioritising girls' education and doing away with child marriages (in contrast to NFHS data 2015-16). However, whether these two issues are seen as welfare issues (that educated girls make better mothers and ending child marriage is good for health) or as rights issues is not clear.

Father's group and women's group acting together to end child marriage: Gumla district

"I am now in 10th Class. When I was in class 8th, I remember that good food was organised and that 2-3 men came to see me, asking my parents for alliance. Initially I did not understand, but later I did. I wanted to study further, and become a nurse. The animator and few father's group members, Gumla district, came to explain to my father that child marriage was against the law. Leaders of women's group in the village came to explain to my mother. Over three months, they got convinced or became afraid to go in for child marriage. Now I am in class 10th, and pursuing my studies. However my father drinks heavily, and hits my mother often. She too drinks a little. It is very difficult for me to concentrate on my studies. Nobody teases me or makes me recall the days I was under pressure to marry, but my situation is difficult now too."

Where FGs and KGs are present, reduction in physical spousal violence (by men) and sexual harassment of girls in village are mentioned. Stakeholders feel that this is because of knowledge that there are FGs and collective action taken by some FGs who look at these issues, together with an increase in the number of women's SHGs that have been formed (especially if formed by NGOs with a gender orientation) and at times taken over by the government. None mentioned that men helping/ sharing in domestic work and child care has become a social norm.

Private is public: Action of father's group on domestic violence

I am a member of a father's group in Bokaro District. Before we became active, there was commotion from late evening onwards. Loud arguments (by both) and violence usually by husbands on wives. It was difficult to come out. Originally we thought this was a private matter, but through the father's groups we came to know that domestic violence on women is a public issue. We started intervening, taking the support of few non members who were respected. We share some of the insights we have gained from fathers group on patriarchy, anger management and care to bring harmony. Now, there is more peace in our street than before, though we cannot claim 100% success.

Trends (over three years) in violence against women as perceived by women SHG members in each of the three districts are given in the Table. Apart from reduction in child marriages, physical violence by spouses is reported to have reduced in villages visited in two districts. In all three districts, FGs reported having intervened in cases of physical violence against women by partners, irrespective of whether they were in FGs or not. Whether women's groups were involved in such action and the extent of collaboration in such action varies with factors such as whether the animator was related to group leaders and whether the same NGO formed them. Sexual harassment by men/male youth of women and girls on roads and public spaces is reported to have gone down due to greater awareness created through the project, by NGO-formed SHGs, and better lighting over time. Women in SHGs with relatives in the programme pointed to the contribution of the work with KGs. Witch hunting (particularly of widows) was reported to have declined in Ranchi and Bokaro, while in the case of Gumla the subject did not emerge during discussion. This was seen as a result of increase in education and awareness created through the project. Most of the relatives of FGs and KGs in SHGs were aware of the purpose of FGs and KGs, unlike what was reported during the mid-term review.

Teacher, Ranchi: *"Our school is a private high school. Girls and boys come to study. We always had complaints from high school girls, that boys from their classes and seniors passed lewd remarks or whistled and followed them. After the animator and facilitator of the NGO from Ranchi took three sessions on masculinity and gender equality, such incidences have come down. As new students come every year, we want to continue the process".*

One major pattern in all three districts (though the sample is only one SHG) is that dowry demands are reported to have increased considerably (amongst Adivasis, not so much in terms of asking brides to leave if they do not bring adequate amount of dowry, but in terms of rising expectations of what brides' families should provide in terms of furniture and jewels). While amongst some Adivasi communities marriage expenses were shared, this was not the case amongst caste Hindus. In Ranchi, the nascent phenomenon of women who were not married because of want of dowry was reported (which per se, is not bad if a deliberate choice). Another major problem articulated by women's SHGs in Bokaro and Ranchi is the rise in alcohol consumption by men. In Gumla, there was no decrease in heavy drinking by men. Privacy during discussion was limited in Gumla. While there were few instances where members of FGs were reported to have reduced or stopped heavy drinking, this was yet to become a norm. The men reported a lower figure on heavy drinking. Women reported

that 10% of women also consumed unhealthy amounts of alcohol. While not getting into a moralistic angle, children reported being unable to study as there was greater quarrelling (at times violence) in the house if fathers drank a lot. There was heightened risk of violence against women. Further, especially in Ranchi and Gumla villages where poverty is high, it affects well being of the family.

Women SHGs perceptions on incidence of violence against women

	Ranchi	Gumla	Bokaro
Physical violence	10	5	10
Verbal abuse			50
Dowry	100	80	90
Child marriage	1	5	0
Sexual harassment	5	0	10
Witch hunting	0		0
Gambling	30	10	30
Alcoholism	80	80	90
Rape	0	0.10%	0.10%

5.4 Local Institutions and Project: Accountability, wider impact or mutual benefit?

Discussions with service providers suggest that teachers, principals, AWWs, Asha workers, ANMs, and elected representatives make use of the animators and facilitators for achieving their targets, and the animators and facilitators make use of these institutions for spreading messages of the interventions. For example, a teacher in a government school in Gumla District observed that she informed the animator of the village as to which children were not coming regularly to school and he in turn involved the FG to promote better attendance (irrespective of whether they are members of FGs or not). Some of the members of the FG were also in the school management committee. The issues of child marriage and right to education were discussed in these meetings too. In Ranchi, the

facilitator and animator held three sessions in a private school for students from Class 8 to 10 on gender equality and specific issues of child marriage and reduction of sexual harassment. A reduction in whistling of sexist Bollywood songs and teasing of girls by boys was noted by teachers in bus stops. The principal of a government school in Bokaro had witnessed a rally against child marriage, and expressed that such messages ensured that girl children in particular did not leave schools to get married. Further, members of a KG enhanced standards of cleanliness and behaviour and reduced sexual harassment in schools. This, in turn, helped to ensure that girls continued in schools.

Only one **ANM** could be met due to their busy schedule, and this was in Ranchi District. **AWWs were met** in all the districts. Most were aware of the intervention (FGs more than KGs) but had not taken part in the same. The ANM from Ranchi observed that convincing fathers on immunisation was central, as in a majority of households they take the decision on whether children should be immunised or not. Women, according to her, were more reluctant to get their children immunised as they had to take care of the children if they caught fever or became sick after immunisation. She expressed that the animator normally came during the day of immunisation, and the proportion of fathers coming with their children for immunisation had increased, though still a minority. She observed that cases of domestic violence were concealed by women, who reported other causes for bruises/ injuries, and there was a decline in such cases as well as in child marriages. The ANM expressed that a variety of factors like education, the project intervention and women's SHGs were behind the decline in child marriages. Two gaps that she pointed out were reluctance of couples to go in for vasectomy and persistent anaemia amongst girls and women. The AWWs observed that KG meetings were at times held and iron tablets distributed to adolescent girls, but free rations which were supplied earlier to adolescent girls have been stopped by the government. There was not much involvement of men in the programmes for adolescent girls. Mothers' meetings were held by AWWs and as the name signified, denoted entailed participation of only mothers, though the latest Early Childhood Development Framework was referring to parents' committees.

Two of the three **Sahiyas** met were aware of the work with FGs, but not the work with KGs. One of the two Sahiyas met in Gumla District mentioned that men came for VHND more than before in the last three years, but they did not come much for immunization of children or for antenatal care (ANC) check ups. Child marriages, according to her, had also more or less stopped. She was not aware of the Citizens' Charter. She was aware of the wall posters, and not larger campaigns through girls' engagement in football. In Bokaro, the Sahiya had taken part in a debate on gender equality held in the Panchayat office and was aware of both the FGs and KGs. She observed more men came along with their partners for ANC check ups than before, and also when tetanus injections had to be given to pregnant women. She observed that domestic violence and child marriage had come down, partly due to the project intervention but also due to government initiatives, awareness on legislation and growing belief that education is important. The high turnover of animators could be a factor in the lower awareness of the Sahiya of the project

A Sarpanch from Bokaro observed that the PRA promoted democracy by teaching men and women to vote and exercise their choices in a transparent manner. Such processes also strengthen local elections. He observed that the rally on child marriage in which 250 people took part made people stop and ask questions. With regard to the Panchayat itself he noted that child marriage had stopped, and sexual harassment of girls, dowry harassment and physical spousal violence had decreased. According to him, though gambling was still an issue, the positives were due to both Panchayat interventions, and the project's initiatives. It was difficult to separate both as he was a member of an FG. In Gumla, the husband of the elected representative (not in an FG) spoke more than her in spite of repeated attempts. He observed that animators/other FG members were

members of Village Development Committees and VHNSCs and brought issues of gender equality into the discussion. The girl trained in football went to Hazaribagh to play a match, and her picture appeared in papers, putting the village on the map. A women PRI member from Gumla (widow) observed that men in FGs helped but did not share house work or child care, but they respected women more now than before. She noted that monitoring MGNREGA implementation and match between wages under the scheme and in the market was important to women's empowerment, - as a majority of the workers were women. The FGs need to work on such issues as well. The Village Level Committees under NRLM, according to her, did not include FG representatives, which reduced their development impact in the villages. In Ranchi, a woman PRI member observed that FGs and KGs created spaces for men to speak in public and bond and act on gender issues like child marriage, sexual harassment in public spaces and spousal violence. Like some of the others, she was not aware of the Citizens' Charter. A young male ward member who was a member of an FG shared information from meetings in the PRI meetings routinely, not just in the Gram Sabha meetings on gender equality.

A journalist from a Hindi newspaper observed that men, women and Kishores and girls are coming out more in support of gender equality in the blocks covered by the intervention than before. He noted that the march to end child marriage, which he covered, drew a lot of public attention and consensus on this issue. The idea of men and women standing in non-segregated queues was also good, and suggested to the public that there was nothing wrong if non-related people of opposite sex talked to each other. The journalist shared that the cycle is considered a male domain, and when a girl won the slow cycling race it broke stereotypes. Wall posters and debates communicated the concept of gender equality, the need for joint decision making and the need to combat gender-based violence. The journalist expressed that his own capacity had got strengthened through participation in these events as well as in workshops held by CHSJ in Ranchi and Delhi on masculinities and gender equality.

On the whole, it appears that the relationship of the project with schools, Anganwadi centres, sub centres, PRIs and media has been one of mutual benefit and promotion of a wider impact, and less on accountability. This is an improvement over the findings of the mid-term review that not many stakeholders are aware of the interventions of the project, but equally a gender and child rights based scorecard for each service provider institution could be evolved focusing on processes, activities and outcomes.

6.0 Synthesis of findings using evaluation frameworks

6.1. Masculinities:

The narratives of animators, fathers, partners, Kishores and their relatives suggest that the project in a short span of three years has helped the members of FGs and KGs to move largely away from "violent masculinities". Further, in their own lives they have started doing more work that is considered "feminine" and express emotions towards their partner and children. These shifts are more in the case of animators than the fathers and Kishores. The greater shifts come with the younger fathers, the more educated fathers, and those living in choice marriages. These shifts have

led to improved well being of children and women, and greater decision making of women on children (to a lesser extent reproductive and sexual matters). The construction of masculinities was on the whole more egalitarian in Santhal communities compared to other Adivasi communities, but the sample size is too small to come to firm conclusions. Further, caste Hindus in Bokaro knew to speak the “rights” language, but their practice was more patriarchal when compared to Adivasis.

However, these shifts are yet to lead to a reduction in privileges of men over women in terms of mobility, bearing the burden of contraception, work force participation, economic resources and political participation. Changes have happened more in the private space of families, and less in the public space of economy and politics. Of concern is that values of hegemonic masculinities are held by women SHG members as well, and there is a need to address this as well.

6.2 Synthesis using empowerment framework

The **power** animators, other fathers, and members of KGs exercise **over** partners, sons and sisters has reduced, though as they themselves admit, power is yet to be equally shared. This is reflected in lesser resort to violence against partners, children/ sons, more recourse to joint decision making, near absence of child marriages and the granting of more freedoms to daughters than before. Sisters by and large are less controlled by brothers in groups. In terms of **men’s power** to improve the well being and empower lives of partners, daughters and sisters, they have reduced the workload of women through helping in care work , which according to partners has given them time to rest and relax (majority), go to markets (a few) and start home gardens (a few). Some animators and fathers have encouraged partners not in women’s groups to join the same and access social capital, when earlier they were opposed to this idea. Animators, members of FGs and their partners report joint decision making on reproduction (how many children), though there is son preference. However, the burden of permanent contraception is mainly on women (only one father had adopted vasectomy). Partners of animators alone were asked whether they were given space to say no to sexual relations with their husbands, and a majority said yes (from the time of their marriage a majority, a few after the project). In the case of FG members there is not as yet much change in economic participation, ownership of assets and political participation of partners. Amongst animators, the situation is better, but not equal. At the **power with** level, collective action was seen to prevent physical violence by husbands (successful in 50% cases), child marriages (majority successful), and dropping out from schools. Collective action was also undertaken to improve access to water (self help) and justice in the case of rape (partly successful). Collective action was problematic when perpetrators and survivors came from within FGs/ KGs. While collective action has addressed practical gender needs and strategic gender interests of women, it has rarely strengthened accountability of government services to gender equality and child rights. The extent to which collective action has involved women’s groups has varied with whether the NGO has formed them or the government, being higher when the groups have been formed by the NGO involved in the Project. With regard to “power within” (deep rooted attitudes) animators by and large had more progressive attitudes (but not necessarily on action required in the event of rape), followed by KGs and then FGs (also women’s SHGs). Attitudes of fathers in Gumla District were more behind than in the other two districts, which could be because of the turnover of animators.

6.3 Synthesis using Social Relations and Institution

The intervention has helped change relations of members of FGs and KGs with partners and sisters in the **families** of animators, fathers and Kishores involved in the programme. Ripples can also be seen in the larger households. However, the relations are not as yet equal- and more so amongst fathers. Language like “help” “allow” and “permission” was used and not so much language like “share”, “freedom”, “choice”. Changes were more visible with regard to care, health, nutrition and education than economic or political rights. Falling in between are issues of women’s and girls’ mobility. Issues of reproductive and sexual equality were articulated when prompted, and mainly amongst animators. These changes need more time, and it would be unfair to expect the same in three years. Further, while some non-members were influenced by their friends and relatives in groups and started helping in housework, the changes were yet to become **community norms** according to the groups and indirect stakeholders, as well as direct observation during the mission. What seems to have become a norm is women joining SHGs, girls’ education and ending of child marriage. Nevertheless, this norm is influenced by other factors too, like the government National Rural Livelihood Mission, Beti Bachao Beti Padhao and (partner) NGO intervention. It was seen that the message of Responsible Partner and Caring Father reached a larger audience when PRI members, teachers, school management committee members and Jamat members were part of the FGs. **Caste and religion norms** were broken when FGs and KGs brought together members of different communities (tribes, castes and religions). Animators and FG members were open to choice marriages within the same community, but not across; with some having gone for choice marriages. This is not entirely attributable to the intervention, but the intervention had created more liberal space.

A few husbands and partners mentioned that women relatives of FGs and KGs were going to **markets** now (they had not before) to sell vegetables. This was stated to be due to a combination-of the intervention and children going older. However, quite a few fathers said that women with young children could not go to markets or work. Some stated that they lived in a joint family, and permission of their own mothers and fathers was required. Older poor Adivasis did go for MGNREGA and waged work out of necessity. Norms that women did easier work and hence were paid lower were ingrained.

With regard to influencing **state machinery** towards ‘Responsible Father and Caring Parent’ the FGs are slowly using the state machinery to prevent child marriage and hold perpetrators of rape to account. They are bringing these issues into the debate of service providers, as well as PRIs, though not to the extent of holding the state to account. An important barrier to influencing the state machinery towards responsible fatherhood and caring parents is that as per government regulation, only “mother” committees and “Kishori” committees are to be formed by ICDS centres, which excludes fathers as parents and Kishores as actors in giving space to their adolescent sisters.

7.0 Conclusions and Recommendations

7.1 Conclusions

The review suggests that in a short span of three years the intervention has made an impressive dent in bringing to the discourse, and in promoting, responsible partners, caring fathers, and caring brothers and sons. The discourse is taking place amongst animators, within the group members, related families and to a lesser extent outside too- including institutions that provide services and

are expected to govern locally. The group members have begun to question violent masculinities, exercising less power over their women relatives and support them more. As a result some progress is seen in several domains towards gender equality and child rights in participants and participant families (listed in the order of the frequency with which they were stated: i) helping in housework and childcare, ii) investing in girls education and equal education, iii) saying no child marriage in house, iv) less anger v) less domestic violence, vi) less alcohol consumption vii) less sexual harassment in public spaces, and viii) less policing of sisters. The changes are more marked amongst participants in the project than the non-participants (with the exception of Santhal non participants), with a ripple effect amongst relatives, drop-in attendees in meeting and friends. Less impact was seen in the larger village. Other than the case of some of the animators, changes were less seen in the domain of economic participation, property ownership, reproductive and sexual rights, and political participation of women. That is, violent and uncaring masculinities amongst participant is being challenged, but privileges more slowly. While animators engaged in house work in public spaces, cleaned toilets and the child if he/she defecates, this was less true of fathers. Younger fathers, fathers with access to information, and fathers in choice marriages are more open to change. In some respect changes were more in nuclear families (eg sharing, joint decision making) on the other hand women's economic participation in nuclear families was constrained more if they had young children. Changes were more in the case of animators who had been with the group since the beginning, and amongst group members who attended all sessions. Gumla suffered with regard to turnover of Animators and attendance by group members due to heavy migration.

Though at a nascent stage, some groups had acted beyond their interests to prevent/ challenge domestic violence, prevent child marriage, prevent sexual harassment and try to bring perpetrator of rape to book. In only one instance a group fell apart over collective action taken, as relatives of perpetrator and survivor were in the same group. Such successes in ensuring the rule of the law can set examples for other villages. These interventions show that the project is beginning to challenge violent masculinities at community level through exercising "power with' as a group (sometimes along with women) in collaboration with NGOs, PRIs (where attitudes of Sarpanch matches) lawyers and counselors. Total internalisation, in terms of norms of gender equality and child rights - power within- needs more time.

However, the day to day changes of men engaging in housework and childcare, cutting down alcohol consumption, managing anger etc are yet to become a community norm. Further, the posting of 4-5 attitudinal questions in the area of roles of women and men, permission required by women for venturing out, proxy political participation of men and justice in instances of rape point to more work that needs to be done with fathers and some of the Kishore groups, and on the last two issues with some of the animators too. Having said that attitude were more progressive on the same questions amongst members than non-members

As is to be expected in a three year project, the project has reached the stage where members of groups "share" housework and give women space to exercise choices freely. As yet the project does not have a written strategy for engagement with women when collective action has to be taken at village level over strategic gender interests. In practice, this varies with animators.

The title of the project “Responsible Partners and Caring Fathers” has become “Responsible Husbands and Caring fathers” in Hindi and hence in implementation. On hindsight it was ambitious to think that one could begin in Indian villages (given the context) with the concept of marriage as partnership, and it may be better to have conceptualised this for the next phase in existing villages. Perhaps the slogan of “responsible citizen” needs to be added, as the project rightly expects accountability of service providers to gender equality. There also needs to be a catchy slogan to support its work with Kishores and youth, like gender champions or caring sibling.

So far the Project has shied away from some of women’s priorities when the issue of gender based violence was raised. Women’s SHG members (includes some relatives of FGs and KGs) would like to see a greater focus of the project on their priorities: i) Increase in dowry-gift expectations from brides’ families, ii) increase in male excessive alcoholism, iii) increase/significant gambling by men and youth. Excess drinking was seen as linked to arguments and violence on women, as was gambling as the families are poor, especially in project villages of Gumla and Ranchi. Five times more men than women drank excessively. The former comes in the way of ability to study. Women’s SHGs also expressed the need for safety audit of each village.

Relationship of animators with anganwadi centers, health sub centers, schools and PRIs is impressive, with most aware of the project and FGs and some of KGs too. This is an improvement over findings from MTR. These institutions and the project have collaborated for mutual benefit to spread institutions’ messages, and in some instances the Projects. As yet the FGs and KGs have not made these institutions accountable to gender equality and child rights, and this could be a focus for the next phase.

Relating the changes seen to the social relations and institutions framework, changes in favour of women and girls were visible in the institution of family (lesser in larger household), and to a lesser extent in norms of community, markets or state machinery. As is to be expected in three years, the ideas from the project strategy are yet to be incorporated by the state or central government. However, it has influenced other interventions of NGOs involved in this project and in the larger FEM network. This is no small achievement.

To sum up the “Responsible Partner and Caring fathers” (towards gender equality and child rights) project has had impressive impact in a short span of three years, and compares well with good practices from across the world (See EMERGE document). **The core element** of the project which has worked are:

1. The conceptual clarity that the thrust is towards gender equality and child rights (need of the hour large buy in from government), and not problems of men per se
2. Posting a person at the state and national level who is not only competent manager but also embodies the soul of the project, backed by a good monitoring system
3. Identifying good NGOs with field presence and rapport on the ground and asking them to appoint a facilitator who understands spirit of the project exclusively for the project. The role of the mentor is indeed important.
4. Identifying good animators who continue for three years and training of animators over 35 days, using participatory methods, backed by a retreat
5. Forming FGs and KGs and identifying topics and participatory methodology for discussion for each (for KG this is yet to be developed).

6. Having a campaign and linkage strategy to reach a wider audience.

The project was on the whole better implemented in two districts, where these conditions were met. Replicability depends a lot on point 2.

7.2 Recommendations

- A. Given the impressive outcomes in promoting responsible partners and caring fathers (towards gender equality and child rights) in a short span of three years, and the need to deepen and scale up the impact, the intervention may be extended to another three years.
- B. The recommended strategies to deepen the impact:
 - a. Work with the concept of responsible “partner” than “husband” and caring “parent” than “father” (father’s group), and to sharpen the focus of work with Kishores - friendly brothers and responsible youth, Related, a shift towards sharing, freedom, justice and choice needs fostering
 - b. Define gender equality more strongly within a larger context of equality based on other identities (caste, ethnicity, class, disability, and gender identity/sexual orientation)
 - c. Strengthen further the match between the context, priorities of women and the focus of the project, by adding the following thrust areas: work with men and boys on issues of reproductive rights, male responsibility on contraception, spiralling gifts/dowry, women’s economic participation and property rights, women’s political participation, excessive drinking and gambling by men
 - d. Engage women in more empowering ways through ensuring that women are co-leaders in any collective action (say against sexual harassment), and at the same time address deep rooted notions of hegemonic masculinities amongst several of the women as well- through working with NGOs forming the women’s groups.
 - e. Strengthen the match between the multi-domain focus of the objectives of the intervention and PRAs and Charters- topics such as men’s role in domestic work and child care and those listed under recommendation ‘d’ may be added. Further, PRA and Citizen’s charters should ideally vary from village to village
 - f. Lessons may be learnt from the animator selection process in Ranchi and Bokaro, wherein turnover has been low. In the case of animators who have joined recently, it is important for the Programme Manager, CHSJ to conduct tailor -made training on the intervention and the topics they have missed. Periodic attitude checks by posing questions not discussed in training but related to the topics could be made
 - g. All FG and KG meetings may be held at times convenient to the majority, as members have other work to attend to or tuitions to take up. If attendance is less than 70%, a second round of discussions for those who missed may be held. After each meeting, a summary of the main points could be messaged through SMS to the members of fathers’ groups. Attitudinal questions may be posed periodically. Similar to retreats with partners for animators, village level retreats for members of FGs with partners and KGs with sisters may be considered

- h. In the case of Gumla, where it is difficult to find a mentor, it is suggested that audio/ video recordings of group sessions once in three months is reviewed by the Programme Manager, CHSJ, Ranchi, and feedback given to facilitator and animator
- C. To have a wider impact in existing 30 villages it is suggested that:
- A. Care is taken that around three fathers in groups are from the PRI/ the Village Health Nutrition and Sanitation Committee/ the Village Development Committee/ SMCs/ tribal councils. Such membership strengthens linkages and spread of messages. Further, if the village is surrounded by hamlets from other villages, the feasibility of including members from these could be explored
 - B. Dynamic members from fathers groups, adult Kishore group members, leaders from women's groups and women PRI members may meet at Panchayat level once in three months to identify gender equality and child rights linked to hegemonic masculinities issues for action. Service providers may be invited too
 - C. This informal committee may strengthen accountability of local services to gender equality and child rights through periodical audits, for which CHSJ may evolve formats with NGOs
 - D. It is suggested that campaigns are held every three months at village and Panchayat level, and every 6 months at Block level, combining street theater, wall posters, debates, gender fairs, and mixed sex sports. Campaigns through mobile apps and local TV cables could be explored in Bokaro.
 - E. To experiment with sensitising spouses of women PRIs on masculinities, sharing of housework and importance of women's political participation
 - F. Three sets of IEC Materials may be made available to each village (in addition to animators) for the use of father's group, Kishore groups and other stakeholders. Further a flip chart for use in group facilitation could be prepared one for each facilitator and animator, a Xerox copy of which could be available for others members if possible
 - G. The comprehensive MIS system may be strengthened by documenting not only changes in animators and fathers/Kishores, but also the larger village and institutions; and document whether institutional accountability strategies were initiated and outcomes. The domains of change may be analysed every six months. The stories of change may also include collective action in villages
4. To have a wider impact beyond the project area:
- a. To evolve a bi-lingual Training Manual and online course on working with fathers and Kishore on Responsible Partners, Caring Fathers/Brothers and Responsible citizens towards gender equality and child rights- building on the core elements outlined in the conclusion. If the strategy of working with partners of women representatives works, this could be included in the core package
 - b. To consider having a training center in project area, for other NGOs, donors and government to learn from through direct exposure

- c. To explore the possibility of institutionalization such modules within institutes like Rajiv Gandhi National Institute of Youth Development, Indira Gandhi National Open University etc
- d. To hold a dialogue with central government towards the end of the next phase on implications of lessons from this Project for operationalising National Women's Empowerment Policy, Early Childhood Policy and National Youth Policy of India

The recommendations are in the way of consolidating the unleashment of new frontiers in working towards gender/ social equality and child rights. CHSJ has the institutional capacity to do so!

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Annexure 1.

Enabling Men to be Responsible Partners and Caring Fathers in

3 districts of Jharkhand

May-June 2018

Comparison of Baseline and Endline Metrics

(By the CHSJ Research Team)

I. Introduction

This document is a short report of the changes brought about between the baseline and endline surveys in the “Responsible Partner Caring Father” project. The project aimed at mobilization of men and boys to promote and support the new behaviours of men as responsible partners and caring fathers, which address caring for children and transforming gender relations at the home and in the community through a gender equality and child rights perspective.

The baseline and endline surveys were done across 30 villages in the three project districts - Ranchi, Gumla and Bokaro. The baseline survey was conducted in August 2016 and the Endline survey in May-June 2018.

II. Methodology

A baseline survey had been conducted in 2016, with 291 participants across the three intervention areas. The sample included potential group members who had been identified to be part of the intervention. The survey tool captured information around the following domains – socio-demographic profile of men, men’s attitudes vis a vis gender and child rights, men’s participation in household chores and child care, and perpetration of violence. For the endline survey, a survey tool was developed based on the baseline questionnaire in order to allow comparison. The survey was conducted among groups among group members in the 30 intervention villages. 10 group members were randomly selected in each village to be part of the survey. The final sample consisted of 339 men across the field areas. Data collection was supervised by two researchers from CHSJ and facilitators were appointed from the partner organization staff. Forms were checked in the field and sent to Delhi for data entry. Entry and cleaning and analysis was done in SPSS. This short report presents a comparative analysis of the baseline and endline findings to present what changes have occurred in men’s attitudes around gender and behaviours with respect to their wives and children.

III. Socio Demographic Profile

The respondents were between the ages of 19 to 62 years, with most being in the age group of 20-25 years. Gumla had a fairly younger age group of group members compared to the other two districts. The groups included many men (married and unmarried) who were yet to be fathers. In all there were 339 respondents from across the districts, of whom 117 were from Bokaro, 113 in Gumla and 109 in Ranchi. Caste and religious distribution of the respondents is given in Table 1. Majority of

the respondents in Gumla and Ranchi belonged to the Scheduled Tribes and followed Sarna customs while in Bokaro they belonged to the Other Backward Classes and followed Hinduism, followed by Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled castes.

Table 1 : Caste and religion of the respondents						
	Baseline			Endline		
	Bokaro(%) (N=90)	Gumla(%) (N=106)	Ranchi(%) (N=95)	Bokaro(%) (N=117)	Gumla(%) (N=113)	Ranchi(%) (N=109)
Caste						
ST	26(29)	94(88.7)	67(71.3)	39(33.3)	104(92)	73(67)
SC	21(23)	0	1(1.1)	26(22.2)	1(.9)	1(.9)
OBC	36(40)	10(9.4)	10(10.6)	50(42.7)	4(3.5)	26(23.9)
General	7(7.8)	2(1.9)	16(17)	2(1.7)	4(3.5)	9(8.3)
No answer	0	0	1(1.1)	0	0	0
Total	90	106	95			
Religion						
Sarna	23(25.3)	75(71.7)	58(60.6)	25(21.4)	81(71.7)	69(63.3)
Hindu	57(63.7)	17(15.1)	23(24.5)	74(63.2)	15(13.3)	27(24.8)
Muslim	10(11)	1(.9)	11(11.7)	18(15.4)	2(1.8)	11(10.1)
Christian	0	13(12.3)	3(3.2)	0	15(13.3)	2(1.8)
Other	-	-	-			

Education and Occupation

Across districts, most respondents were educated upto high school or higher secondary. Very few, just 10% or lesser had pursued education beyond higher secondary (Table 2). A significant proportion across the districts did not get to go to school.

	Baseline			Endline		
	Bokaro(%) (N=90)	Gumla(%) (N=106)	Ranchi(%) (N=95)	Bokaro(%) (N=117)	Gumla(%) (N=113)	Ranchi(%) (N=109)
No schooling	8(8.8)	15(14.2)	7(7.4)	8(6.8)	16(14.2)	12(11)
Primary school	10(11)	7(6.6)	6(6.3)	12(10.3)	10(8.8)	8(7.3)
Middle school	19(20.9)	26(24.5)	17(17.9)	24(20.5)	26(23)	19(17.4)
High school	33(36.7)	35(33)	47(49.5)	40(34.2)	39(34.5)	39(35.8)
Higher secondary	16(17.8)	17(16)	12(12.6)	21(17.9)	13(11.5)	21(19.3)
Bachelors Degree and above	4(4.4)	6(5.7)	6(6.3)	12(10.3)	9(8)	8(7.3)

One of the reasons for not pursuing higher education among men was due to the pressure of being the bread winner. Boys needed to start earning for the family early because of which education is left midway and another being high costs for higher education. Most of the respondents had more than one kind of employment owing to the limited livelihood opportunities in the area and the uncertainties related to farming. Some of the respondents did as many as three different kinds of work they do throughout the year. The most common work was doing farming, followed by working as a daily wage labourer. At the time of the survey, the many respondents were hesitant in sharing their income. Many could not give an estimate of an annual income, as they said they have never accumulated enough to know how much would their annual income be, whatever they earn is spent on food and other needs on a daily basis. However, from the tentative annual income shared by the respondents, a majority of the respondents across the districts earned less than fifty thousand rupees annually. Conditions oblige men to migrate for work, and in Gumla around 30% of respondents were migrant labourers, whereas in Bokaro and Ranchi migrant workers comprised 20% of the respondents.

IV. Gender Relations and Division of Labour in the Household

The project strategically aimed at changing the rigid gendered roles and responsibilities that existed at the beginning of the intervention. In the baseline survey it was very clear that the daily household chores were considered the duty of women, and men seldom contributed. Even if men did they would do so for themselves, like wash their own clothes or the plate they ate on.

Responsibilities	Baseline				Endline			
	Bokaro (%) (N=90)	Gumla (%) (N=106)	Ranchi(%) (N=95)	Total(%) (N=291)	Bokaro(%) (N=117)	Gumla(%) (N=113)	Ranchi(%) (N=109)	Total(%) (339)
Wash clothes of family members	69(76.7)	91(85.9)	85(89.4)	245(84.2)	20(17.1)	23(20.4)	18(16.5)	61(18)
Cleaning house/ courtyard	83(92.2)	100(94.3)	88(92.6)	271(93.1)	22(18.8)	15(13.3)	11(10.1)	48(14.2)
Prepare food	84(93.3)	98(92.5)	86(90.5)	268(92.1)	24(20.5)	8(7.1)	10(9.2)	42(12.4)
Serve meal	87(96.6)	94(88.7)	88(92.6)	269(92.4)	38(32.8)	33(29.2)	16(14.7)	87(25.7)
Wash Utensils	89(98.9)	100(94.3)	90(94.7)	279(95.9)	53(45.3)	23(20.4)	18(16.5)	94(27.7)
Fetch Water	66(73.3)	90(94.9)	48(50.5)	204(70)	21(17.9)	10(8.8)	7(6.4)	38(11.2)

During the initial meetings with the fathers, not many took positively the idea of doing the so called 'woman's work'. With various interactions with the animators and the group members, gradually the understanding that responsibility of the household chores is not just woman's work but the work is 'work of the house' which can and should be done by men too. This was evident even in the stories, where men talked about doing 'household chores' and not 'work of their women'. This shift as we see has been varied for every individual in terms of intensity of contribution to do the different chores. Men have come to say that they began with those tasks which were not difficult to do. The process has also led men overcoming their fear and shame in order to contribute to doing these various chores. Many men now don't believe that by doing work in the house or listening to their wife, they are *joru ke ghulam* (slave of the wife).

The baseline data clearly indicates low participation of men in chores like cleaning the house, washing families' clothes, cooking and serving meals, washing utensils and fetching water as a huge number of them didn't contribute to doing anything at the beginning. The endline findings (Table 3), however, show that the proportion of men who don't contribute at all has considerably reduced. Of those who mentioned doing any or all of the chores, it is important to note that every man is contributing in the domestic work in different capacities, some are doing it 'sometimes', some 'most of the times' and some 'always'. Though a large proportion of men have started contributing to doing the tasks, not all are doing it on a regular basis. Out of the many chores (Table 4), fetching water seems to be have been the most commonly done chore across the three districts. Father's group members in Ranchi and Gumla are contributing more in household work than in Bokaro. This

is consistent with the baseline findings too, where it was seen that in Ranchi and Gumla, tribal populations saw it more acceptable for a man to do household work than in other castes in Bokaro.

Table 4: Proportion of men who are contributing to domestic work

Responsibilities	Endline							
	Bokaro(%) (N=117)		Gumla(%) (N=113)		Ranchi(%) (N=109)		Total(%) (339)	
	Do the chores	Do most of the times or always	Do the chores	Do most of the times or always	Do the chores	Do most of the times or always	Do the chores	Do most of the times or always
Wash clothes of family members	97(82.9)	28(23.9)	90(79.6)	38(33.6)	91(83.5)	29(26.6)	278(82)	95(28)
Cleaning house/ courtyard	95(81.2)	32(27.4)	98(86.7)	44(38.9)	98(89.9)	39(35.8)	291(85.8)	115(33.9)
Prep food	93(79.5)	28(23.9)	105(92.9)	39(34.5)	99(90.8)	42(38.5)	297(87.6)	109(32.2)
Serve meal	79(67.5)	23(19.8)	80(70.8)	31(27.4)	93(85.3)	24(22)	252(74.3)	78(23.1)
Wash Utensils	64(54.7)	15(12.8)	90(79.6)	33(29.2)	91(83.5)	25(22.7)	245(72.3)	73(21.5)
Fetch Water	96(82.1)	53(45.3)	103(91.2)	65(57.5)	102(93.6)	76(69.7)	301(88.8)	194(57.2)

Overall the data also indicates that group members have moved from taking no responsibility for household chores to bearing a secondary responsibility. However the onus of the final/ primary responsibility of the work still lies on the woman

Decision making by women

The overall decision making of women in various matters was very low in the baseline. Women had maximum say in decisions related to the household and those related to children. In comparison, women's participation in decision making as reported by the men, has increased in all aspects (Table 5), though much lesser in Bokaro as compared to the other two districts.

Table 5: Involvement of women in decision making at home on their own or in jointly with elders/ male members

Routine decisions	Baseline			Endline		
	Bokaro(%) (N=90)	Gumla(%) (N=106)	Ranchi(%) (N=95)	Bokaro(%) (N=110)	Gumla(%) (N=106)	Ranchi(%) (N=101)
Spending money for food	19(21.2)	13(12.3)	24(25.3)	83 (71.6)	85(75.2)	91(83.5)
Spending money for clothing	22(24.4)	24(22.6)	34(35.8)	80(69.9)	94(83.2)	88(80.7)
To buy mobile phone*	19(21.2)	14(13.2)	19(20)	63(57.3)	80(72.7)	74(69.8)
Agriculture related decisions	21(23.3)	23(21.7)	12(12.6)	57(50.9)	90(81.1)	67(61.5)

Major household decisions						
To buy big assets like TV, motorcycle, etc*	24(26.7)	24(22.6)	44(41.2)	75(78.1)	80(83.3)	79(78.1)
To take a loan	29(32.2)	26(24.5)	50(52.6)	79(79.8)	66(83.5)	80(87)
Decision to manage incomes						
Husband's income*	38(42.2)	29(27.4)	37(38.9)	71(62.3)	70(65.4)	60(58.3)
Wife income*	19(21.2)	37(26.4)	28(38.9)	44(77.2)	51(83.6)	67(93.1)
Decisions related to children						
Whether children should go to school or not	54(60)	65(61.3)	70(73.7)	83(83)	93(91.2)	88(91.7)
Deciding the number of children to be had	53(58.8)	93(87.7)	86(90.5)	99(90)	104(98.1)	94(93)
*N is different						

Even though women's decision in terms of joint decision has increased, she should have complete autonomy to decide on the income she earns. Although men's attitude towards women's decisions making are changing to be equitable, it is important to emphasize that decision making be taught to girls at an early age so that as women they exercise their decision making right confidently.

Men's involvement in child and maternal care

Child care and maternal care are always seen as "women's concerns" and this was reflected in the baseline study of this project as well. Mothers, aunts, grandmothers, elder sisters (children) and other female members were involved in all aspects related to pregnancy and child care. The fathers among only the tribes of Oraon and Santhals looked after their children when the mother was not available or was busy doing work, some fed the children and washed clothes of their children. However, the mother was the primary caretaker. With several rounds of discussions and debates, men slowly realised their role as equal partners in parenting, where their participation would lead in better development of the children and improved relationship between them. Through the stories we gather that many fathers started spending more time with their children. The quantitative data also reflects a significant change in men's participation in pregnancy and child care.

Care during pregnancy

	Baseline				Endline			
	Bokaro(%) (N=19)	Gumla(%) (N=36)	Ranchi(%) (N=15)	Total(%) (N=70)	Bokaro(%) (N=20)	Gumla(%) (N=29)	Ranchi(%) (N=12)	Total(%) (N=61)
Good participation >80% score	0	4(11.1)	0	4(5.7)	2(10)	5(17.2)	1(8.3)	8(13.1)
Satisfactory	2(10.5)	9(25)	1(6.7)	12(17.1)	8(40)	9(31)	4(33.3)	21(34.4)

participation 50-80%								
Unsatisfactory participation <50%	17(89.5)	23(63.9)	14(93.3)	54(77.1)	10(50)	15(51.7)	7(58.3)	32(52.5)

**Total score=7, pregnancy care includes – accompanying the wife for at least one ANC, getting supplementary nutrition for her, discussing arrangements for delivery, taking care of the wife and giving her rest, taking care of household during pregnancy so that wife can rest*

Table 6 provides a comparison of baseline and endline surveys vis a vis men’s participation in pregnancy care. During pregnancy, all men except some in Gumla, had gone atleast once with the wife for the antennal care visit. Men have also started getting supplementary nutrition the AWCs and also from outside. There has also been a significant increase in taking up the work otherwise done by wife, so that she could get some rest.

With around 75% deliveries being normal that without a complication, most of the deliveries taken place in the last two years has been in government institutions, but some also chose home births(<15%), and a very few went to private hospitals. In the two district, Bokaro and Ranchi, men accompany wife for delivery was common, the proportion of men is now around 90% across the districts, where one could see an increase in the district of Gumla.

Caring for children

The needs of the children at different age group is different, the intervention acknowledging this had aimed to ensuring fathers are involved in caring and rearing of their children as per the various needs. Similarly, only those fathers with children of specific age groups were part of this section of the survey. The data overall shows that some fathers have taken their child care responsibility seriously and are currently participating in few of the child care tasks.

Table 7: Respondent’s involvement in child care								
	Baseline				Endline			
Children below 2 yrs (score =14)								
	Bokaro-19	Gumla-36	Ranchi-15	Total-70	Bokaro-20	Gumla-29	Ranchi-12	Total-61
>80% score(>11.2)	0	0	0	0	4(20)	2(6.9)	1(8.3)	7(11.5)
50-80%(7--11.2)	4(21.1)	17(47)	3(20)	24(34.3)	8(40)	15(51.7)	7(58.3)	30(49.2)
<50%(<7)	15(78.9)	19(52.8)	12(80)	46(65.7)	8(40)	12(41.4)	4(33.3)	24(39.3)
Children between 2-6 yrs(score=13)								
	Bokaro-36	Gumla-75	Ranchi-57	Total-168	Bokaro-49	Gumla-63	Ranchi-53	Total-165

>80% score(>10.4)	0	0	1(1.8)	1(.6)	6(12.3)	11(17.5)	12(22.6)	29(17.6)
50-80%(6.5-- 10.4)	2(5.6)	22(29.3)	4(7)	28(16.7)	16(32.7)	23(36.5)	10(18.9)	49(26.7)
<50%(<6.5)	34(94.4)	53(70.7)	52(91.2)	139(82.7)	27(55.1)	29(46)	31(58.5)	87(52.7)
Children between 7-12 yrs(score=11)								
	Bokaro- 42	Gumla- 52	Ranchi- 52	Total-146	Bokaro- 49	Gumla- 63	Ranchi- 53	Total- 165
>80% score(>8.8)	1(2.4)	3(5.8)	0	4(2.7)	17(34.7)	23(36.5)	8(15.1)	48(29.1)
50-80%(5.5-- 8.8)	5(11.9)	11(21.2)	3(5.8)	19(13)	13(26.5)	35(55.6)	14(26.4)	62(37.6)
<50%(<5.5)	36(85.7)	38(73.1)	49(94.2)	123(84.2)	19(38.8)	59(7.9)	31(58.5)	55(33.3)

Caring for children below 2 years

Of children below two years, of all the tasks, fathers involvement has increased but the frequency of doing the actions is still very low. Fathers have been more involved in doing those actions that require some mobility outside the house and when the child is unwell, actions such as bathing the baby, feeding the baby, cleaning after soiling, washing baby's clothes, which are to be done more at regular intervals are still not preferred by the men. The belief of very small children be would not be handled by men still persists. Child care actions and its frequency have differed across the districts. For instance, a larger proportion, around 90%, of fathers accompanied their children for immunisation in Bokaro and Ranchi but in Gumla it was only 69%. Bathing and feeding milk to the baby, washing baby's clothes and cleaning after soiling were almost negligible at the time of baseline, and still remains low across the districts, only less than 30% chose to do these tasks. Taking the baby for a stroll or to a doctor was high during the baseline and has further increased. More fathers are also spending time with the baby by playing with the child.

Caring for children between 2-6 years

Once the child is 2 years old, is more independent than an infant, though still dependent on caretaker for most of their activities. The fathers of children between 2-6 years have also realised their parenting roles and are actively participating in some of them. As mentioned earlier that once that men find themselves more suitable to take care of a child once they are walking, which is also evident from the data as actions like feeding bathing, cleaning after soiling which fathers of children below 2 years were not doing, are being done by some of them with children in the older age group. Even though many fathers have started contributing, fulfilling these responsibilities 'often' is still not very common. Among all the actions, fathers participated often when the child was in some distress or was sick to take care or take for treatment.

Care of children between 6-12 years

Involvement with older children in the age group of 6-12 years has increased as compared to the findings in the baseline survey. Like other age groups, father's participation is the highest when the child is ill. However, other aspects like cooking for children, taking care of needs for school like

getting them reading in the mornings, helping in studies, talking about issues at school or friends has also shown an improved participation.

The overall attitude of men towards care and relationship with the child has been positive. Men are making efforts to spend more time with their children, not just to fulfil basic needs but also leisure time for creating that father child bond. Majority, around 80% in Bokaro and Ranchi and 87% in Gumla have claimed in the survey that they spend more time with their children.

Table 8: Time spent with children after joining the project

	Endline		
	Bokaro(%) (N=103)	Gumla(%) (N=104)	Ranchi(%) (N=100)
More than before	78(75.7)	90(86.5)	82(82)
Less than before	3(2.9)	5(4.8)	3(3)
As much as before	20(19.4)	8(7.7)	12(12)

V. Attitudes towards gender, parenting, child rights, masculinity, and violence

The section on attitudes in the survey comprised of 36 questions on the various domains like gender roles, parenting and child care, children's autonomy, masculinity, sexuality and violence. To calculate the composite score every progressive answer was given a score of 1. After adding the scores, attained scores have been divided into 3 categories - traditional where the score was less than 60% of the total, moderate where the score was between 60-85% and equitable where the score was more than 85%. The following table shows us the composite achieved scores.

Table 9: Attitudes of the male respondents (Score of progressive response)

	Bokaro(%)		Gumla(%)		Ranchi (%)		Total(%)	
	Base (N=90)	End (N=117)	Base (N=106)	End (N=113)	Base (N=95)	End (N=109)	Base (N=291)	End (N=339)
Traditional	77(85.6)	62(53)	83(78.3)	26(23)	78(82.1)	38(34.9)	238(81.8)	126(37.2)
Moderate	13(14.4)	47(40.2)	22(20.89)	70(62)	16(16.8)	60(55.1)	51(17)	117(52.2)
Equitable	0	8(6.8)	1(.9)	17(15)	1(1.1)	11(10.1)	2(.7)	36(10.6)

A comparison of the composite score of the baseline and endline suggests a shift in attitudes from more traditional/rigid to more equitable. This shift can be seen in men changing their stand and accepting new equitable norms. However all men have not yet adopted an equitable attitude, most of the men are in the moderate zone. There is a variation across domains, with some attitudes having changed more than others. What follows is a short description of which attitudes have changed significantly and which are still slow to change.

What has improved

With an understanding of one's responsibility towards children, there has been a perceptible shift in mindset of the fathers regarding 'partner and child care' and 'child autonomy'. Around 66% of men in the endline disagreed that changing diapers, giving children a bath, and feeding the children are

the mother's responsibility as compared to 34.5% in the baseline. Similarly more men in the endline as compared to the baseline agree that a man also has a role in pregnancy care and also must spend time with children. As many stories indicated that animators and group members have started valuing the girl child, providing them with opportunities to study, and a similar shift is seen in the survey. 70% disagreed that investing in boys' education was more important than the girls. 66% agreed that talking to girls about menstruation was important (a story of a father from Bokaro resonates with this idea, where he expressed the efforts made by himself by creating that space where a daughter could ask for sanitary napkins from the father). Also 88% agreed that girls should not be married off early. In the baseline, a majority of men believed that that girls will be spoilt and will have affairs if given a mobile phone, whereas in the endline 70% of men disagreed that only boys should own a mobile phone. There have been some stories which portray a positive attitude towards the girl child; one such story is of a group member letting go of his desiring to have a boy child and being happy with his daughters. Contradictorily, even though more men agreed that girls also should get inheritance rights, the need for having a boy child to complete family or continue lineage still exists among many of the members.

The intervention has created space for men to discuss about family planning and to use contraceptives for spacing and limiting. In the endline survey, most men agree that use of contraceptives is an equal responsibility of men. From 38% now 65% believe that male sterilisation does not affect the man's ability to work and his masculinity. An instance from Ranchi was reported in the stories of change, where an animator underwent vasectomy, and shared and continues to share his testimony among other men on how strong he is physically.

What is slow to change

The data shows that attitudes around women's change and women's decision making, but rigid cultural norms that prohibit women from ploughing fields and building roofs have still not changed. It is more acceptable for a boy of 11 yr to be an assistant in the repair of roofs than taking the help of a woman. During interactions with men in the field, they acknowledged that women were as strong as men and could use the plough if provided the opportunity. They also did not see any logical problem with women repairing roofs. But they were not keen on breaking the rules for fear of unknown repercussions. One man stated women are to be punished "just like a goat by slitting their ears", if they engage in activities that are taboo. Even if this didn't happen literally, a warning of the consequences was spread to keep women in control.

Women contribute much more in the farms than men in Jharkhand, especially those involved in growing rice. Owing to the need for labour, women were not restricted to homes in Gumla and Ranchi, however, controlling women's mobility is still of high priority for men across the three districts with around 75% men agreeing that women must take the permission before going out of the house.

VI. Spousal Relationship and Intimate Partner Violence

One of the key achievements in adopting gender equitable norms is the recognition in improved spousal relationship. The situation evident in the baseline was quite dismal with very poor communication between spouses in terms of lack of discussion pertaining to important matters and spending leisure time together. The endline findings clearly show immense improvement in matters of communication like discussions about various aspects to the household or children and even discussing each other's problems. However, there still appears to be some discomfort in discussing

about sex. There have been few stories about decision jointly on contraceptive use, but by and large this has not changed perhaps because most of the men's wives had been sterilized and they had completed child bearing.

Table 10: Relationship between couples						
	Baseline			Endline		
	Bokaro(%) (N=90)	Gumla(%) (N=106)	Ranchi(%) (N=95)	Bokaro(%) (N=110)	Gumla(%) (N=106)	Ranchi(%) (N=101)
Discussed with wife on household issues	30(33.3)	23(21.7)	40(42.1)	71(65.1)	79(73.1)	70(69.3)
Consult before buying big assets/ migrating for work/other expenses	20(22.2)	21(19.8)	19(20)	59(54.1)	83(63.1)	63(62.4)
Discuss on care/parenting issues of children	27(30)	43(40.6)	42(45.3)	72(66.7)	87(81.3)	78(78)
Discuss on future plans for children	31(34.4)	39(36.8)	41(43.2)	73(67)	95(87.2)	84(83.2)
Discuss husband's personal problems	25(27.8)	30(28.3)	17(17.9)	64(59.8)	80(73.4)	58(58)
Discuss wife's personal problems	23(25.6)	31(29.2)	19(20)	67(62)	76(69.7)	60(60.6)
Discuss wife's health	27(30)	40(37.7)	23(24.2)	67(62)	86(79.6)	67(67.7)
Discuss husband's health	27(30)	36(34)	30(31.6)	68(62.4)	80(74.1)	66(68)
Discuss wife's preference in sex	11(12.2)	18(17)	10(10.5)	44(40.4)	55(50.5)	37(37.4)
Discuss family planning/ contraceptive use	7(7.8)	23(21.7)	4(4.2)	37(33.9)	54(49.5)	22(22)
Take wife for an outing	4(4.4)	6(5.7)	0	35(32.1)	20(18.5)	22(22)
Accompany wife to her relatives	4(4.4)	9(8.5)	3(3.2)	40(37)	39(36.1)	26(26.3)

The change in behaviour expressed by men in their stories tell us or indicate how their lives have improved and small or big changes brought by the animators and few group members have made their family environment better and improved their relationship with partner and children.

Intimate partner violence

Along with an improvement in spousal relationships, an overall reduction in intimate partner violence was also seen especially in Gumla and Ranchi between the baseline and endline surveys. The most drastic reduction was evident in the proportion of men in Gumla that they had stopped having sex with their wives without consent. However, the data shows a mixed picture. In Bokaro especially, the reporting on intimate partner violence was perceptibly lower than the other two districts in the baseline. This could be attributed to the more feudal and conservative context of Bokaro as compared to the other districts. In the endline, however we see an increased reporting of

violence by men which suggests that there is perhaps an improved understanding of violence in the community, and a willingness to accept such behaviour now, as compared to the beginning of the project.

Table 11: Men reporting having abused wife within the past one year

Type of Violence	Baseline			Endline		
	Bokaro(%) (N=90)	Gumla(%) (N=106)	Ranchi(%) (N=95)	Bokaro(%) (N=110)	Gumla(%) (N=106)	Ranchi(%) (N=101)
Verbal abuse	21(23.3)	50(47.2)	60(63.2)	36(32.7)	35(32.4)	51(51)
Beating/physical abuse	8(8.8)	14(12.5)	16(17)	13(11.8)	9(8.3)	14(14)
Sex without consent	12(13.4)	38(36.9)	22(23.4)	24(28.1)	12(11.1)	20(20)
Restricted from going out	29(32.2)	46(44.7)	54(57.4)	22(20)	23(21.5)	26(26)